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(Journal of the Indian Research Institute)

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VOL IX - X

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OPINIONS ON THE "INDIAN CULTURE"

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Dr. Louis dela Vállee Poussin.—...contains many good things. I am much interested by the remarks of Prof. Winternitz on the Śramaṇa-Literature. It is the most interesting and useful journal for philosophy and history.

Dr. A. B. Keith.—It is a most interesting number and if the standard of achievement is maintained you will have secured a very valuable addition to the number of scholarly periodicals issued in India.

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Director, Archaeological Department, Hyderabad-Deccan.—I congratulate you heartily on the excellence of the articles published in the first number and I hope the standard will be maintained under your able management.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society (Vol. IX, Part I, July, 1934).—This very admirable periodical will be welcomed all over the country by all those who are devoted to the promotion of research into the ancient History of India and her great culture. The excellent character of this new Journal and the high standard of articles published in it, and the enterprise and devotion of the group of the Bengali scholars seem to make Indian Culture rightly and completely fill the great void created by the unfortunate discontinuance of the great epoch making journal, the Indian Antiquary. This new Journal, three numbers of which are before us, shows itself to be first class scientific periodical by the richness of its contents. Like the Indian Antiquary, it is hoped that this Journal also will be an impartial forum to all devoted and inspiring workers under the capable editorship of the distinguished and veteran savant Dr. Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, who is assisted by willing and brilliant scholars like Dr. Barua and Dr. Bimala Churn Law. We heartily congratulate the management of the Journal on the high standard of excellence that is attained and hope that by means of unsparing devotion it will be maintained. There is no doubt that its appearance is a valuable addition to the number of scholarly journals published in India to-day. We wish it all success.

INDIAN CULTURE

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On the occation of the 160th Anniversary of the **Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal**, the Council have decided to sell the Society's publications (*including Bibliotheca Indica*) to the general public at a discount of 25%. This offer will remain open up to the end of January, 1944.

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CHARACTER-SKETCHES IN BĀṆA'S *HARṢACARITA**

By U. N. Ghoshal

Bāṇa's historical descriptions in the *Harṣacarita* often show his vivid sense of realism triumphing over his literary heritage of artificial convention. Much the same remark applies to Bāṇa's characterisation of historical figures in the same work. In his formal estimates of the kings, queens, princes, courtiers, hermits and others who fill his canvas, Bāṇa closely follows the prevailing *Kāvya* model, but the detailed accounts of their career often illustrate with striking vividness the distinctive traits of their character. In the result Bāṇa's characters are in most cases stamped with a degree of individuality unknown to other chronicles of Ancient India with the single exception of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

It will be convenient for us to begin with Bāṇa's character-sketch of Puṣpabhūti, Harṣa's remote ancestor. Bāṇa's formal description of this king's character is as conventional in form and substance as Subandhu's characterization of king Cintāmaṇi (*Vāsavadattā,* ed. F. Hall, pp. 10-43) or Bāṇa's own characterization of kings Śūdraka and Tārāpīḍa (*Kādambarī*, ed. P. L. Vaidya, pp. 5-6, 53-6). In describing the incidents of Puṣpabhūti's career, Bāṇa, however, gives us a quite distinctive picture of the passionate, almost fanatical, faith of the king in the Lord Śiva—a trait which he attributes in courtly language to the natural wilfulness of great minds. From boyhood upwards, says the author, the king, untaught by any man, entertained a great, almost inborn, devotion towards the Lord Śiva. From all other gods he turned away. His household and his subjects thought it fit to humour his faith. It is no doubt in the light of this distinctive trait that we have to understand not only his honoured reception of the Śivite teacher Bhairavācārya at his court, but also his rather quixotic offer of 'himself, his harem, his court and his treasury' to the saint on the occasion of the latter's visit. For the rest he appears before us as a king of great courage (shown by his sharing the saint's dreadful vigil in the burning-ground at dead of night), prowess (proved by his overthrow of the tutelary Nāga deity in single combat) and magnanimity (illustrated by his craving of the goddess Lakṣmī the boon of success of the saint. (*C. and T.*, pp. 84-85).

**C. and T.* stand for *The Harṣacarita of Bāṇa,* translated by E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas, London 1897. Kane stands for the *Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa,* Ucchvāsas I—IV, edited with Introduction and Notes by P. V. Kane, Bombay, 1918; and Gajendragadkar stands for the *Harsacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa,* Ucchvāsas IV—VIII, ed. with a Sanskrit commentary by S. D. Gajendragadkar, and an Introduction, Notes and Appendices by A. B. Gajendragadkar, Poona 1919.

Bāṇa introduces (*C. and T.*, pp. 101-2) Prabhākaravardhana, Harṣa's father, in the style of conventional praise familiar to *Kāvya* composition. Bāṇa's subsequent narrative of events, however, throws welcome light upon the realistic traits of the king's character. Prabhākaravardhana evidently inherited his ancestor's deep piety, being as ardent a devotee of the Sun as Puṣpabhūti was of Śiva. Day by day at sunrise, says the author, he bathed, arrayed himself in white silk, wrapped his head in a white cloth and facing eastwards offered on the ground in a circle smeared with saffron-paste a bunch of red lotuses set in a pure vessel of ruby (*C. and T.*, p. 104 with corr. by Kane, *Notes*, p. 245). To the royal qualities of this king—his valour and heroism, his appreciation of merit, his sturdy and handsome frame—touching references are made by Queen Yaśovatī in her parting address to Prince Harṣa (*C. and T.*, p. 153), as also by the Princes Rājyavardhana and Harṣa in their posthumous reminiscences of their departed Sire (*C.and T.*, pp. 155, 158-59). That these encomiums were not without some basis is proved by the author's casual reference (*C. and T.*, p. 173) to the fact that on the very day on which the King's death was rumoured, the lord of Malwa killed his son-in-law Grahavarman of Kanauj and seemed to threaten Thanesar itself.

No trait, however, is so conspicuously brought out in Prabhākaravardhana's character than the extraordinary warmth of his affections. To the boy Bhaṇḍi, whom queen Yaśovatī's brother presented at court for serving the little princes, Prabhākaravardhana became attached as to 'an additional son' (*C. and T.*, p. 117). When his sons grew up to manhood, the King appointed as their honourable attendants the two sons of the Malwa King 'inseparable as my arms from my sides' (*C. and T.*, p. 119). Of the young physician Rasāyana who attended Prabhākaravardhana at his death-bed, we are told that he was 'cherished like a son by the King' (*C. and T.*, p. 144). In paying his tribute of respect to the memory of Rasāyana, Prince Harṣa says, 'Was not my father his father, my mother his mother, we his brothers?' His father, as the Prince continues, was 'to his dependants ambrosia itself, a veritable kinsman, unfailing in his favours' (*C. and T.*, p. 145). It was above all in his relations with his children that the King's affectionate nature was displayed most conspicuously. The King's speech to his worthy spouse promising the marriage of his 'darling' Rājyaśrī with the Maukhari Prince Grahavarman breathes tender affection for his daughter along with pain at her approaching separation (*C. and T.*, pp. 122-23). The King's paternal affection was shown at its best during his last fatal illness. In words of moving pathos which bear reproduction in substance, the author describes the scenes following Harṣa's arrival at his dying father's bedside. As soon as the King perceived his darling son, racked as he was by extreme pain, he put out his arms and half rose from the couch, calling to him, 'Come to me, come to me!' When the Prince hastily drew near with dutifully downcast looks, the King raised his son's head by force and took him to his bosom. 'Limb pressed to limb, cheek joined to cheek, closing eyes which flowed with incessant drops, he held his son in a long embrace forgetting all the torment of the fever.' When the Prince, reluctantly released, sat down near the couch, the King gazed upon him with eyes that seemed to drink him in with their fixed look. "Again and again he touched him with trembling palms and speaking with some difficulty—for his throat was dry through sickness—'My boy,' he said, 'You are thin.' " Being told that the Prince had not taken food since three days, the King could only after a long sigh express in tear-choked accents his poignant grief at the distress of his well-beloved and distinguished son. He ended with the words of tender expostulation: 'Not till you have eaten will I myself take my diet.' When Harṣa, distracted with fresh grief at his mother's suicide, went back to his father's side and flung himself with a flood of tears at the parental feet, the King whose eyes were closing, recovered consciousness on hearing the Prince's ceaseless weeping. With his last words of comfort addressed to his sorrowing son, he 'closed his eyes never to open them more.' (*C. and T.*, p. 155-56).

Rājyavardhana, elder son of Prabhākaravardhana, is introduced to us in the same language of conventional compliment as Puṣpabhūti and Prabhākaravardhana. To quote Bāṇa's short account, he was 'a Prince composed as if of lightning atoms to quell the cabals of all Kings'; he was 'capable of supporting the whole world's weight'; he was 'the heart-shaker of all Kings' (*C. and T.*, p. 107). Bāṇa's subsequent narrative of events enables us to acquaint ourselves with more realistic glimpses into the Prince's character. From a reminiscence put into the mouth of Harṣa after the tragic death of his brother, it follows that the latter surpassed even his mighty father in the strength of his physical frame (cf. *C. and T.*, p. 189 :—'Our Sire had a hard-knit frame like a broad mass of rock : but, like the iron-stone from the hills, my brother was harder still'). Rājyavardhana seems to have equalled, if not surpassed, his father also in his prowess. How well he justified the confidence of his father who sent him on his attaining the military age to attack the Hūṇas 'as a lion despatches his whelp against the deer' (*C. and T.*, p. 132) is proved by Bāṇa's casual reference to his still wearing at the time of his mourning 'the long white bandages bound about arrow wounds received in battle' (*C. and T.*, p. 165) against these barbarians. His heroism is also proved by 'the ridiculous ease' (*C. and T.*, p. 178) with which he routed the army of the Malwa King, the murderer of his brother-in-law. But this great warrior of iron frame surpassed even his father in the warmth of his family affections. His deep devotion to his noble sire is recalled in a pathetic passage in course of Harṣa's self-musing after Prabhākaravardhana's death. "He was," says the Prince, "ever singing to me our father's praises, 'Think you Harṣa, that any man ever did or will possess such a shapely frame, tall as a golden palm ......What other is high-minded, valiant and generous'?" (*C. and T.*, p. 163.) The most convincing proof of Rājyavardhana's deep filial affection is furnished by the touching scenes following his arrival at the capital after his father's death. After his first passionate outburst of grief at the meeting with his brother, Rājyavardhana addressed him in a characteristic speech in the presence of the assembled vassal Kings. It is the speech of a noble soul who, according to his own showing, had been bereft of courage, wisdom and discernment by overwhelming grief for his departed sire. The universal practice, he admits, which was followed even by his own father, is for the son to succeed to the paternal throne. It is again, as he allows, the part of cowardice and womanishness to be subdued by grief. Nevertheless, as he pathetically observes, all his wisdom, discernment and manhood had deserted him because of his sorrow for his noble father's death. He therefore expressed the resolve, almost unique of its kind, to renounce the throne in favour of his younger brother and retire to a hermitage. Closing his speech with the words 'I have abandoned the sword,' the Prince confirmed his resolve by dramatically flinging his scimitar on the ground (*C. and T.*, pp. 169-171).

The swift and dramatic entrance of a messenger at this moment, conveying to the astonished Princes the terrible news of the slaying of Grahavarman and imprisonment of Rājyaśrī by "the wicked lord of Malwa," produced a complete and immediate change in Rājyavardhana's resolution. As Bāṇa observes for once with remarkable insight into human character, the Prince's high spirit, naturally unbending temper, heroic family strain and affection for his stricken sister combined to banish from his heart his overmastering grief. The "awful paroxysm of wrath," which rose in his mind and found vivid expression in his changed physical features, led him to address his brother in words worthy of a lion-hearted king. Declaring that this task of repressing the insolent foe is his 'royal house', his 'kin,' his 'court', his 'land', his 'assumption of the bark-dress' and his 'austerities' while expressing his profound contempt for the Mālavas who had dared to ill-treat the race of Puṣpabhūti, the Prince concluded with the laconic command bespeaking the energy and decision of his character, 'Let all the kings and elephants stay with you. Only Bhaṇḍi here must follow me with some ten thousand horse' (*C. and T.*, pp. 174-5).

The tragic death of Rājyavardhana gives Bāṇa the occasion for referring to another trait of the King's character, namely his over-confidingness. In a speech put into the mouth of Skandagupta, supreme commandant of the elephant-corps, the young Harṣa is asked to take warning from the fate of Rājyavardhana and to give 'up this universal confidingness, so agreeable to the habits of your own land and springing from innate frankness of spirit' (*C. and T.*, p. 192).

The longest and most detailed account of all historical characterisations is reserved by Bāṇa, naturally enough, for the hero of his work, King Harṣa. With the example of the great authors of Kāvya compositions before him, Bāṇa could not but paint him as the paragon of kingly qualities. We find him accordingly indulging again and again in rhapsodies of the King's matchless qualities of head and heart. Witness, *e.g.*, the highly panegyrical reference to the King in Kṛṣṇa's message (*C. and T.*, pp. 42-43) inviting Bāṇa to the royal court. Compare again, the pseudo-historical comparison made by Bāṇa's cousin between Harṣa and a host of ancient Kings and heroes whose misdeeds are contrasted with 'the stainless purity' of the King (*C. and T.*, pp. 74-7). Nothing proves so well the purely conventional character of such descriptions as the fact that the passage relating to the alleged misdeeds of ancient kings and heroes is for the most part quoted *verbatim* by Subandhu in his *Vāsavadattā* (ed. F. Hall, pp. 273-276) while justifying his hero's resolve to commit suicide out of grief for the lost princess.

It is in Bāṇa's detailed account of Harṣa's career that we find reflected the many facets of the King's complex character. Even as a boy he was fond of daring, for when his brother marched against the Hūṇas, the younger Prince 'being at youth's adventure-loving age', slipped away from the camp for hunting in the Himalayan forests (*C. and T.*, p. 132). But the trait most conspicuously brought out in the Prince's character at this period is his ardent filial affection. When the news reached him of his father's severe illness, 'his heart was instantly splintered into a thousand pieces.' Hurrying to the capital by forced marches, he made his way at noon through the sorrowing throng of citizens and courtiers to his father's bed-side. Received by the King with the most tender affection, the Prince could only be persuaded with the utmost difficulty to break his three days' fast. Making anxious enquiries about his father's illness from the attending physicians, the Prince 'lost all fortitude' and at night-fall went again to his father's presence where in anguish of heart he spent a sleepless night, listening to the King's incessant agonising cries. Returning at dawn to his own quarters, the Prince was so sorrow-stricken that 'disregarding every duty he threw himself upon a couch and remained wrapped in his garment from head to foot.' Disturbed by the mighty signs of the coming catastrophe, he 'could scarcely live through the ensuing night.' Overcome completely the next morning by the fresh tragedy of his mother's self-immolation, the Prince rushed to the side of his father and clasping the King's feet 'burst like a common man into a long fit of weeping'. Through all the terrible night following his father's demise, the Prince 'sat with the princes, sleepless on the uncushioned ground,' while 'his tears rained down like an outpouring of his flood of affection.' As he lay in this situation, the thought of the great void caused by the death of his high-souled father filled his mind. On the morrow Harṣa, roused by the appeals of the vassal kings started forth to perform his father's last rites. After the funeral bath he 'stayed not to wring his hair, but having put on a pair of white silk robes, proceeded home full of sighs. His flushed eyes riveted to the tip of his nose bespoke his grief.' He passed some days in the same condition turning away from all avocations of life till at length under the constant attention of faithful courtiers and sages he 'gradually lost his distaste for food and the other dues of life' (*C. and T.*, pp. 134-162).

Harṣa's tender affection for his mother, combined with appreciation of her heroic sacrifice, is recalled to us in the course of the same narrative. As soon as the Prince heard the news of his mother's dreadful resolution to mount the funeral pyre, he was so carried away by fresh grief that he 'lost all power of action.' Recovering consciousness, he went in hot haste to his mother's apartment only to find her already prepared for her last sad journey. While still at a distance, he uttered a passionate cry and flinging himself at her feet, he implored her to 'be merciful and turn back.' How the heroic queen after the first outburst of grief not only controlled herself but also appealed to her son in a spirited speech not to oppose her resolution, will be told in another place. The Prince, 'deeming that act to be the better part befitting a lady of rank,' stood in silence with downcast looks (*C. and T.*, pp. 149-54).

Equal appreciation of heroic sacrifice was shown by the young Prince in his comment on the suicide of the young physician Rasāyana who threw himself into the flames rather than tell Harṣa the painful truth about his father's illness. In a noble speech the Prince bore testimony to the youth's generous nature, his great love for the King and the undying glory of his sacrifice (*C. and T.*, p. 145).

Next to his deep filial affection, the trait which is most marked in Harṣa's character at this time is his tender love for his brother. As soon as Harṣa had recovered from his burst of grief at his father's death, his thoughts turned to his absent brother. Recalling Rājyavardhana's deep devotion to the late King, Harṣa apprehended (what indeed proved to be prophetic) that his brother in the excess of grief might decide to abandon thoughts of sovereignty and retire to a hermitage (*C. and T.*, pp. 162-63). At the subsequent meeting between the brothers Harṣa gave fresh proof of his deep fraternal affection. Informed of his noble brother's arrival, the Prince moved at once by brotherly affection and grief for the late King, 'all but poured out his life along with a gushing torrent of tears.' When the elder Prince, after relieving his pent-up feelings in a passionate embrace of his brother, threw himself speechless on a couch, Harṣa lay in silence by his side on a blanket laid on the ground. 'Glancing ever and anon upon his afflicted brother, he felt his heart almost split into a thousand parts.' For, as the author pithily remarks, 'the sight of a brother is a rejuvenescence of sorrow' (*C. and T.*, pp. 165-168).

Deep as was his affection for his brother, Harṣa was presently to show that he was capable of sacrificing even this feeling at the higher call of duty. When Rājyavardhana, altogether overwhelmed with sorrow for his father's death, announced his astounding resolution to retire to a hermitage and asked Harṣa to assume sovereignty, the virtuous younger Prince could only wonder in his mind how 'this man has, like the vilest of mankind, instigated me, as one ready for any deed, to this atrocious act, as if I were no child of Puṣpabhūti's line, no son of our sire, no younger brother of his own, void of affection and detected in fault.' Moved at once by the affliction of his father's death and his brother's impending retirement in the prime of life, he decided in his mind to follow Rājyavardhana's example. The sin involved in disobeying his brother, he concluded, he would dispel by 'austerity in a hermitage' (*C. and T.*, pp. 171-173).

The tragic death of Rājyavardhana added an intenser touch of poignancy to Harṣa's affection for his brother. After Harṣa had ordered an immediate march against the Gauḍa King to satisfy his vengeful feelings, the memory of his lost brother broke upon him in the solitude of his bed-chamber with gushing tenderness. He 'wept long and silently,' while reflecting upon the sad end of so vigorous a frame surpassing even that of his father. He also thought of his own baseness in surviving such a noble brother and even forgetting him in the greatness of his own rage. He ended by upbrading destiny for 'parting a pair of happy brothers with hearts blessed in the union of mutual love' (*C. and T.*, pp. 188-189).

The affectionate memory of his brother was, again, recalled to Harṣa by an incident in the course of his march against the Gauḍas.

After Harṣa had for some time advanced by ceaseless marches against the foe, he heard that Bhaṇḍi was encamped quite near with spoils of Rājyavardhana's victorious campaign against the Malwa King. At this news 'the fire of brotherly grief woke again, his courage gave way and he retreated into the darkness, as it were, of a swoon'. Meeting the faithful and sorrowing noble who in his paroxysm of grief fell at the King's feet with a cry, Harṣa 'rose, and advancing with tottering steps uplifted him and clasping his neck in a close embrace; wept long and piteously.' Then, when both had calmed their grief a little, Harṣa heard from Bhaṇḍi the full facts of his brother's death (*C. and T.*, pp. 223-24).

It was after Rājyavardhana's death that the robust qualities of Harṣa's character developed themselves. The passionate cry of grief and indignation which broke from his lips at the news of his brother's murder betokened the emergence of the fiery spirit which Harṣa seems to have inherited from his ancestors. 'Except the Gauḍa King', he cried, 'what man would by such a murder abhorred of all the world, lay such a great soul low.'......Apart from that ignoble wretch, in whose minds would my lord's heroic qualities find no favour ?' (*C. and T.*, p. 179). Under the advice of his faithful minister, Siṃhanāda, Harṣa's implacable thirst for vengeance was widened into a thirst for universal conquest and domination. Guided by such feelings, he uttered his terrible vow which deserves to be quoted in full. 'By the dust of my honoured lord's feet,' he declared, 'I swear that unless in a limited number of days I clear this earth of Gauḍas, and make it resound with fetters on the feet of all Kings who are excited to insolence by the elasticity of their bows, then will I hurl my sinful self, like a moth, into an oil-fed flame.' This was followed by his issue of a proclamation in sonorous terms requiring all Kings up to the furthest known limits to accept the alternative of submission or fight (*C. and T.*, pp. 186-188). The 'fit of anger' into which Harṣa fell on hearing the tidings of his sister's and brother-in-law's fate (*C. and T.*, p. 175) gives us the first indication of his fierce spirit. We can similarly detect the dawn of his desire for military glory in the remonstrance which he addressed to his brother on the latter's decision to march alone againsst the Malwa King. To quote his concluding words, 'Whence this your arm's excessive greediness that you desire alone to quaff the ambrosia of fame ?' (*C. and T.*, pp. 175-6).

Bāṇa's description of the ensuing campaign discloses some other pleasing traits of his hero's character. A pretty anecdote told of Harṣa at the beginning of his march illustrates his robust good sense. Bāṇa tells us how while the King was staying at the place of departure, a newly made golden seal slipped from his hands and falling face down-

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wards upon the ground, distinctly marked the lines of its letters upon the dry mud of the Sarasvatī's bank. The courtiers, who took this to be an evil omen, were depressed. But the King, contemptuously dismissing the interpretation of the dull-witted 'rustics', took it to mean that 'the earth shall be stamped with the single seal of my sole commnad' (*C. and T.*, p. 198).

The episode of Harṣa's departure for the Vindhyas for the rescue of Princess Rājyaśrī brings into clear relief another admirable feature in the King's character, namely his rare affection for his sister. When the King had marched for a number of days, he heard from Bhaṇḍi (it does not appear why) the tragic news of Rājyaśrī's flight to the Vindhya forest where all trace of her was lost. The King immediately decided himself to start for the search, leaving Bhaṇḍi to take charge of the army and continue the march (*C. and T.*, p. 224). Directed by a Śabara youth, the King reached the hermitage of the Buddhist teacher Divākaramitra to whom he unburdened the cause of his grief in the following touching words : 'I have only one young sister left, who is the sole link that keeps up my life, now that I have lost all my. loved kindred. Now she, while wandering fearful of outrage from her enemies, entered the thickest of this Vindhya forest......Night after night we have been ceaselessly exploring the wood in search of her, but we have not found her.' A mendicant having arrived just at this moment with the news that a young woman, overpowered by misfortune, though highly prosperous formerly, was about to mount the funeral pyre, Harṣa became apprehensive of his sister. 'Speaking with difficulty in broken accents, with his voice choked and his eyes full of tears,' he enquired about the whereabouts and other particulars of this woman. Gathering from the mendicant's 'agitated words' that this was indeed his 'poor sister' the King and his party rushed in just in time to prevent the awful tragedy (*C. and T.*, pp. 240-249). With what tender care the King nursed his sister after her rescue from a terrible death will be told in another place. When the Princess at length asked her brother's permission to assume the red robe of a Buddhist nun, Harṣa's reply showed how well he could combine the kingly regard of his duties with his fraternal affection. His immediate paramount duty, he told the Buddhist teacher, was to look after his sister. 'My sister, so young and so tried by adversity, must be cherished by me for a while, even if it involves the neglect of all my royal duties.' He, however, could not but recall his vow which he had made 'in the presence of all the world' for the destruction of the insolent enemies who had slain his brother. He, therefore, conveyed to the teacher his desire that thenceforth while he discharged his vow, his sister should remain at his side and be comforted by the teacher's discourses. At the end, he assured the teacher in a tone of remarkable resignation, when he had accomplished his design, he and his sister would assume the red robe together. Gratified with the teacher's compliance, the King returned with his sister and the holy man to the camp along the Ganges (*C. and T.*, pp. 254-258).

The high respect with which Harṣa treated Divākaramitra throughout the episode just mentioned, indicates his appreciation of learning and character. Discerning patronage of these qualities is also proved by Bāṇa's account of his first reception by the King. As the author states with commendable candour, when he was first introduced into the King's presence, Harṣa declared that he would not see Bāṇa without showing him favour. [This last follows the rendering of Kane, p. 158, which is to be preferred to *C. and T.*, p. 66]. At the same time, addressing his favourite who sat behind him, the King said, 'He is a great gallant.' When the courtiers taken aback at this curt remark remained silent, Bāṇa ventured to address the King a mild remonstrance. Harṣa however, to continue the author's frank narrative, did not welcome him with any signs of favour, but only revealed his inward pleasure by a gracious glance. Returning to his own quarters, Bāṇa concluded from the King's behaviour that he evidently wished the author to be virtuous, 'for lords teach proper behaviour to their dependants even without words by granting them an appropriate reception.' Bāṇa's prescience was fully justified, for, as he naïvely remarks, when the King learnt his true character, he was received with the highest honours and he shared in the King's wealth, his hours of unbending and his state dignity' (*C. and T.*, pp. 65-69. The memory of Harṣa's liberality to Bāṇa was preserved by the rhetorician Mammaṭa in his *Kāvyālaṃkāra*. See Gajendragadkar, *Introd.*, p. xlii).

Bāṇa's picture of Prabhākaravardhana's chief queen Yaśovatī reveals her as an example of the heroic women of Ancient India. In the formal account of her character (*C. and T.*, pp. 102-104) with which Bāṇa introduces her to his readers, she is described as 'the centre of all creatures' love,confidence, duty and felicity, who upon the King's bosom shone like Lakṣmī on the bosom of Hells' Vanquisher.' Bāṇa's numerous references to her in the course of the subsequent narrative illustrate the realistic traits of her character. In describing her condition during her pregnancy, Bāṇa gives us a hint that she was not only a devoted wife but also a dutiful daughter and an excellent housewife (*C. and T.*, pp. 106, 109. Cf. also the touching reference to her parents in her parting address to her son to be mentioned below). In her noble reply to her husband's proposal for Rājyaśrī's marriage, she expressed her sense of the eternal duty of wifely submission and the perennial maternal love for a daughter far exceeding that of a son. 'Mothers, your Majesty', she said with tearful eyes, 'are to their daughters no more indeed than nurses, useful only in rearing them. In their bestowal the father is the judge. Love for a daughter, however, far far exceeds love for a son, pity causing the difference' (*C. and T.*, p. 123). The great qualities of the Queen's character were shown to their fullest advantage on the occasion of her husband's fatal illness. It was in consonance with her deep conjugal affection that she was found by Harṣa "seated at the King's side, and touching him on head and breast, her eyes swollen with ceaseless weeping, fanning him and crying again and again, 'my lord, are you asleep' ?" (*C. and T.*, p. 141). When all hope of her husband's recovery was over, Yaśovatī resolved to offer that supreme proof of wifely devotion that has so often adorned the annals of womanhood in this country *viz.*, self-immolation in the burning flame. The scene that followed (*C. and T.*, pp. 151-5) was one of as sublime a sacrifice as has even been recorded in the annals of history. As the Queen issued forth from her apartments on her fatal journey, she held a picture of her husband in her hand 'as steadfast as her heart, where he dwelt, was fixed on death.' Lovingly she clasped her lord's spear-shaft; before his umbrella, she shed tears as a kinsman; the roars of the caged lions took her heart captive, resembling, as they did, her husband's utterance. With her mind fixed on death, she bade tender farewell even to the King's favourite hounds, the domestic birds and the very trees about the palace. But her awful resolve was soon to be subjected to a more strenuous test. At the sight of her 'youngest and dearest son' who at this moment flung himself at her feet with a piteous cry, she could no longer restrain her pent-up feelings. With bosom heaving convulsively, throat choked with sobs, and lips quivering with agony, she closed her eyes and let flow a torrent of tears. Then 'like some mean woman' she uttered a long and loud lament. With anguished heart she 'recalled to mind from the day of the Prince's birth all the childish years when he lay in her bosom.' As her thoughts recurred to home and kin, she addressed beseechingly her parents, cried to her dear elder son far away and lamented her daughter now settled in her father-in-law's house. In true feminine fashion she ended by reproaching fate and her unfortunate self. But this first outburst of grief so characteristic of her womanly nature immediately gave way to a supreme sense of duty indicative of her heroic spirit. With circumstantial detail the author tells us how the Queen, after lovingly raising her son and wiping his streaming eyes, deliberately wiped her own tears, arranged her tresses, replaced her upper garment, washed her beautiful face and wiped her hands. Then looking intently at her son, she addressed him in words that deserve to live as one of the most splendid specimens of heroic utterance in our literature. She begins by reminding the Prince that her love for her son, great as it is, must give way to her duty to her husband. 'It is not, dear, that you are unloved, without noble qualities or deserving to be abandoned. With my very bosom's milk you drank up my heart. If at this hour my regard is not towards you, it is that my lord's great condescension comes between us.' Next to her husband she owes a duty to her family. In words worthy of a great queen, she says 'I am the lady of a great house, born of a stainless ancestry, one whose virtue is her dower. Have you forgotten that I am the lioness-mate of a great spirit who like a lion had his delight in a hundred battles. Daughter, spouse, mother of heroes, how otherwise could such a woman as I, whose price was valour, act?' Proudly she recalls how she has had her fill of earthly greatness. 'This hand had been clasped by even such a hero, thy father, a chief among Princes.... Upon this head have the subservient wives of countless feudatories poured coronation water from golden ewers. This forehead, in wearing the honourable fillet of chief queen, has enjoyed a thing scarce accessible to desire. These breasts have worn robes swayed by the wind of chowries waved by captive wives of foes; they have been sucked by sons like you. Upon the heads of rival wives have these feet been set; they have been adorned with diamond-wreaths of diadems by the bending matrons of the whole capital'. Proceeding, the queen describes in burning language the misery of surviving her husband and the duty, even the glory, of dying while still unwidowed. 'I cannot endure to make unavailing lamentations for a burnt husband. Going before, like the dust of your father's feet, to announce his coming to the heavens, I shall be high esteemed of the hero-loving spouses of the gods ..Not to die, but to live at such a time would be unfeeling.' Clenching her speech with the resolute words, 'Not in the body, dear son, but in the glory of loyal widows would I abide on earth,' she appealed to her son not to oppose her heart's desire. The closing scene summed up by the author in two sentences of concentrated pathos shows how even the iron stoicism of the Queen was blended at the last moment with a feminine touch. 'Having embraced her son and kissed his head, the Queen went forth on foot from the women's quarter' and amid the citizen's lamentations proceeded to the Sarasvatī's bank. Then looking at the fire with a woman's timorous glances, she plunged into it 'as the moon's form enters the adorable sun.' (*C. and T.*, p. 155).

If Yaśovatī is a historical example of the class of heroic women who have from time to time adorned the annals of our ancient land, her daughter Rājyaśrī is a specimen of its eternal type of tender womanhood. Married at the approach of womanhood to a bridegroom approved by her parents, she betrayed in the bridal chamber all the mingled feelings of bashfulness, alarm and grief usual on such occasions (*C. and T.*, pp. 130-131). The calamities which subsequently befell her—the slaying of her husband and her own cruel imprisonment—were such as were unknown to her more fortunate mother. It was not, however, the spirit of heroic sacrifice but sheer despair that drove her ultimately to prepare for her self-immolation. Having been sent away from the capital through the action of a noble called Gupta, as Bāṇa tells us in his summary of the Princess's misfortunes, she heard the news of her brother's death and refused to take food. Then 'faint from want of food she wandered miserably in the Vindhya forest and at last in her despair resolved to mount the funeral pyre' (*C. and T.*, pp. 250-51). This note of despair is also struck in the description of her condition by Rājyaśrī's lady-in-waiting, as she was preparing for her tragic end. As the venerable lady declared to the young Buddhist mendicant who had been attracted to the spot by the women's cries : 'This our mistress, being helpless through the death of her father and disappearance of all her other relatives, in her excessive tenderness of heart and childless desolation. . . . is now entering into the fire' (*C. and T.*, pp. 244-45). When Harṣa arrived in the nick of time to save her from a horrible death, the flood of tears that burst from her eyes testified to her warm affection for her long sought-for and just recovered brother, while the readiness with which she allowed herself to be led away from the fire by Harṣa proved her dutiful submission. We have another glimpse immediately afterwards into the tenderness of her nature in the statement that tears again filled her eyes at the sudden shock of the news that the Buddhist teacher had known her husband (*C. and T.*; pp. 249-250). When at length she again addressed her brother, the manner and matter of her speaking reflected once more her gentle nature. 'Sire,' said the attendant through whom the Princess conveyed her request 'in a whisper,' 'the Queen bids me say that she never remembers to have uttered before a loud remark in your Highness's presence, far less a command.' But her misfortunes made her forget her due respect. 'A husband and a son,' she explained in language bespeaking the eternal type of India's womanhood, 'is a woman's true support; but to those who are deprived of both, it is immodesty even to continue to live as mere fuel for the fire of misery.' As she had given up her resolution to die owing to the opportune arrival of her brother, she now begged his permission to assume the red robe of a Buddhist nun (*C. and T.*, p. 254). Needless to say, she willingly acquiesced when Harṣa arranged to take her and the Buddhist teacher along with him and returned to his camp along the Ganges banks. (For some further references to Rājyaśrī, see *Life of Hiuen-Tsang*, Beal's tr., Ch. V).

If the Kings, the Queen and the Princess of the Royal House of Puṣpabhūti are presented before us in all their admirable aspects, its most implacable adversaries, the Kings of Malwa and Gauḍa are painted by the author in the blackest colours. Introducing to the two Princes Rājyavardhana and Harṣa, the terrible news of the slaying of Grahavarman and barbarous imprisonment of his Queen by 'the wicked lord of Malwa', the messenger says, 'It is the way of the vile, like fiends, to strike where they find an opening' (*C. and T.*, p. 173). If Bāṇa is to be believed, the Malwa King was as faint-hearted in fight as he was adept in villainy. The Malwa army, it was reported to Harṣa, was defeated 'with ridiculous ease' by Rājyavardhana, and a list of the booty captured by the latter was afterwards displayed by Bhaṇḍi to Harṣa (*C. and T.*, pp. 178 and 225).

The character of the King of Gauḍa, the other formidable enemy of the Puṣpabhūti line (who has been identified with Śaśāṅka, King of Karṇasuvarṇa in Hiuen-Tsang's contemporary account) is again and again referred to by Bāṇa with the utmost abhorrence. Harṣa himself, in the first outburst of his grief and indignation, is said to have exclaimed that the slaying of such a noble and heroic soul, at the very moment when he had laid aside his sword, was an act of infamy of which only 'that ignoble wretch' was capable. The Prince goes on to say that he forbears even to mention the miscreant's name for fear of soiling his tongue with a smirch of sin (*C. and T.*, pp. 179-180). In his speech following Harṣa's utterance to which reference has been made above, General Siṃhanāda ridiculed the folly of the knavish Gauḍa King in rousing the vengeance of Harṣa, and he urged his master to take up arms immediately for the destruction of 'this meanest of the Gauḍas.' Accepting his advice with enthusiasm, Harṣa declared that he was ashamed even to cry out helplessly so long as 'this vile outcast of a Gauḍa King, this world-contemned miscreant, survives, like a cruel thorn in my heart.' He followed this up with the terrible vow, to which reference has been made elsewhere, for clearing this earth of Gauḍas within a limited number of days (*C. and T.*, pp. 182-87. The story of Śaśāṅka's treacherous murder of Rājyavardhana, agreeing in the main with the other contemporary account of Hiuen-Tsang, has been generally accepted as authentic. But good reasons have recently been given for doubting the genuineness of this account. For a good summary of these arguments, see *History of Bengal* published by the Dacca University, 1943, App. II, pp. 71-76. It is moreover a demonstrated fact that Harṣa inspite of his famous vow failed to win any permanent success against Śaśāṅka, see *op. cit.*, pp. 64-66, 68. This proves that Bāṇa's low estimate of the latter's character had not enough basis in fact).

Of the Princes in immediate attendance on Rājyavardhana and Harṣa, Bāṇa makes frequent reference to their cousin Bhaṇḍi, who seems to have been the most zealous of their faithful servants. While

Harṣa was riding by forced marches to attend his dying father's bedside at the capital, Bhaṇḍi was one of those young nobles who repeatedly but in vain, tried to make him take food (*C. and T.*, pp. 135). At the tragic meeting between Prabhākaravardhana and his dearly beloved son, it was Bhaṇḍi who explained to the anxious King that the Prince had taken no food for three days (*C. and T.*, p. 142). In the grave crisis overtaking the Royal House after Prabhākaravardhana's death, it was Bhaṇḍi whom Rājyavardhana selected to accompany him in the campaign against the King of Malwa (*C. and T.*, p. 175). After Rājyavardhana had been done to death by the Gauḍa King, Bhaṇḍi reached Harṣa's camp with the spoils of the luckless King's victory over the Malwa army. The pathetic scenes following the meeting between the cousins, to which reference will be made elsewhere, testify to Bhaṇḍi's affectionate regard for his late master. Immediately afterwards Harṣa himself started for the Vindhyas for the rescue of his sister, leaving the trusted Bhaṇḍi to continue the advance against the Gauḍas (*C. and T.*, pp. 223-224).

Although Bāṇa's references to Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, the two sons of the Malwa King, are less frequent, they seem to have been very trusted and faithful followers of the King. At the first audience given by Harṣa to Bāṇa, the king, spoke his mind to one of them sitting behind, who is described as his favourite (*C. and T.*, p. 66). When Harṣa proceeded to the Vindhya hermitage of Divākaramitra the Buddhist teacher, he is expressly stated to have been attended by Mādhavagupta (*C. and T.*, p. 235).

Coming to the great officers of state, we have welcome glimpses into the characters of only two of them, namely General Siṃhanāda and the elephant-commander Skandagupta. In the crisis following Rājyavardhana's murder, they took advantage of their age and experience to impress their precious advice upon the youthful Harṣa. The General, who is described as a friend of Harṣa's father and a veteran of many wars, made a highly characteristic speech. He began by exposing the folly of 'the wretch,' the Gauḍa King, who had dared to risk the vengeance of Harṣa. He extolled in general terms the greatness of heroes to whom the giving and suffering of wounds in battle out-weighed the regard for their own bodies. Addressing the King with reference to the immediate situation, the impetuous general finally asked him to embark upon a course of universal conquest for his own glory and for the protection of his people. 'Think not of the Gauḍa King alone; so deal that for the future no other follow his example. . . . Relinquishing the grief proper to cowards, appropriate, as the lion a fawn, the royal glory which is your heritage. . You are, in the cataclysm which has come to pass, the only Śeṣa left to support the earth. . My lord's body, baked in the flame of humiliation, cannot without the cool application of crimson sandal-unguent of foes be relieved of this dire fever of pain' (*C. and T.*, pp. 182-186).

If Siṃhanāda in his fiery address sounded a trumpet-call to battle and conquest, Skandagupta's advice was one of caution against overconfidence. It was justified not only by the recent fate of Rājyavardhana but also by reference to a large number of curious historical instances. 'Dismiss therefore,' such were the speaker's cautious words, 'this universal confidingness so agreeable to the habits of your own land and springing from innate frankness of spirit' (*C. and T.*, 191-194. The position of the youthful Harṣa at this moment in relation to the two officers above-mentioned reminds one of that of the young Akbar at his accession with regard to Bairam Khan).

Among other courtiers mentioned by Bāṇa, the figure of the young physician Rasāyana who attended Prabhākaravardhana in his last illness, is very attractive. He is introduced to us as a young doctor holding a hereditary position in the Royal Household. Though only about eighteen years of age, he had mastered all the eight branches of the Āyurveda and he was perfectly familiar with the diagnosis of disease. While all the other physicians comforted Prince Harṣa with hopes of the King's speedy recovery, Rasāyana stood silent with downcast looks. Pressed by the Prince to state the facts of the King's case, Rasāyana committed suicide by throwing himself into the flames to avoid breaking the unwelcome news to his youthful master. The high eulogy which the Prince pronounced upon him may be regarded as a fitting tribute to his rare nobility of soul and love for his patron (*C. and T.*, pp. 144-145).

We may refer, in the next place, to Bāṇa's pleasing picture of the conduct of the courtiers after Prabhākaravardhana's death—a picture which, though drawn in general outline, must have been based upon a substratum of truth. On the next day after the King's death, as Bāṇa tells us, the King's favourite servants, remembering the many virtues of their departed master, abandoned their wives and children. 'Some consigned themselves to precipices, some stationed themselves at holy fords in the neighbourhood. Some spread couches of grass and quited their great sorrow by abstinence from food; some plunged like moths into the flame. Some took vows of silence and sought refuge on the mount of snows; some lay on couches of twigs along the Vindhya slopes. . . . Some assumed red robes, some bound the ascetic's knot upon their heads and made Śiva their refuge. Others reached old age in sylvan hermitages, others, finally, took vows and roamed as shaven monks.' (*C. and T.*, p. 161).

We shall close this paper with Bāṇa's estimate of two renowned ascetics, *viz.* the Śivite saint Bhairavācārya and the Buddhist teacher Divākaramitra. As drawn by Bāṇa's master-hand, they are shown to resemble each other in being friends and confidantes of Kings, but to differ in almost every other respect. As regards Bhairavācārya, the realistic traits of his character are well brought out in the episode of his relationship with King Puṣpabhūti. Coming to the capital of the devout Śaiva King, he was immediately received with the highest honours. Bhairavācārya's success at court was due as much to his shrewdness and worldly wisdom as to the fame of his wondrous powers. While reporting his arrival to the King and on each subsequent visit, he presented to Puṣpabhūti through his faithful disciple Ṭiṭibha five silver lotuses. On one occasion he went a step further and presented a wonderful sword which, as he gravely assured the King, had been acquired from a Brahmarākṣasa (*scill.* 'the ghost of a wicked Brāhmaṇa') by his Brahman disciple Pātālasvāmin. When the King proceeded to visit Bhairavācārya, the saint offered his distinguished guest the high honour of his own seat, which the King of course politely declined. Further, the saint, while declaring his indifference to riches from his very birth, modestly offered to the King the gift of his 'few hard-won syllables of knowledge' and his 'small store of merit acquired by humble service of the holy Master Śiva.' Returning the King's visit, Bhairavācārya displayed his indifference to wealth and power by politely turning down the King's offer of 'himself, his harem, his court, and his treasury.' When the King's confidence had been fully won, Bhairavācārya secretly sought and immediately obtained the help for which he had evidently come all the way from his Southern home. In words bespeaking his single-minded zeal for his own salvation, Bhairavācārya told the King that he had, by a crore of muttered prayers and wearing black garlands, clothes and unguents, performed in the great burning-ground 'the exordium of the potent rite called *Mahākālahṛdaya.*' The completion of this rite by laying a goblin could only be performed with the King's assistance supplementing that of the teacher's three disciples. At the ensuing ceremony the King, armed with sword and dagger, protected one quarter, while the other quarters were guarded by the teacher's three disciples equally well-armed. Entering 'the cage composed of their arms,' the teacher proceeded with his awful ceremony. If we are to believe the author, Bhairavācārya's prescience was fully justified by the result. For though the opposing fiends were allayed after a fruitless resistance, the Nāga deity of the region who burst forth from an underground chasm to challenge the participants, could only be subdued by the King's prowess. The teacher's parting words to the King, on attaining the coveted position of a Vidyādhara, were those of gratitude for Puṣpabhūti's unselfish help and remorse for his own selfishness (*C. and T.*, pp. 86-98).

The three disciples, who are described as participating in the saint's final rite, are likewise presented to us with marked individuality of character. We may take them to be historical examples of the type of Śivite mendicants, half-monk, half-warrior whom India has known from early times. One of them, Ṭīṭibha, is described as wearing the garb of an ordinary mendicant at the time of his first visit to the King. In striking contrast with this description is the picture of Ṭīṭibha and his two associates, as they appeared when proceeding at dead of night to the great burning-ground for assisting the teacher's performance of his dread rite. Bathed and garlanded, they wore on their heads turban-wraps that were tied up in the form of a mystic *Svastika*. Wearing dazzling ear-rings and thick new clothes girt with golden chain-belts, they brandished their sharp swords while daggers were fastened to their waists and bucklers with star-like silver knobs were carried for their protection. In the ensuing ceremony they bore a manful share in fighting the formidable Nāga deity of the realm. The career of these ascetics, after the departure of their master, is characteristic of their double nature. While Ṭīṭibha, despite the King's remonstrances returned to the woods, his two companions, who were men of a war-like spirit, remained in the King's service and lived to occupy the front rank in battle and enjoy the highest honours (*C. and T.*, pp. 91-99).

If Bhairavācārya is presented before our eyes as an historical example of the type of hard cold Brahmanical ascetics known to our land from ancient times, Divākaramitra represents the class of universally compassionate Buddhist saints unhappily lost to us for a long time. When Harṣa approached Divākaramitra's hermitage, the saint, impressed simply with his visitor's extraordinary dignity and courtesy and actuated by his own natural kindness, received the King with such high honours as to elicit the latter's highest praise. Impressed still more by his visitor's courteous refusal to share his own seat, the saint offered the King with remarkable modesty, as coming from a great teacher, the gift of his 'few drops of learning' which formed his sole possession. When the King reached his sister's side just in time to save her from self-immolation on the funeral pyre, he introduced Divākaramitra to her as her dead 'husband's second heart and our *guru*.' How nobly Divākaramitra, who had meanwhile learnt the rank of his guest, fulfilled the *guru's* rôle was proved by his whole subsequent conduct. When the Princess, reminded of her husband, broke forth into a fresh fit of weeping, 'the holy man, who felt that his stoical calmness was threatened by the tears which gathered in his own eyes, turned away his eyes for a while and heaved a long sigh.' This silent sympathy, which does honour to the teacher's heart, was presently changed into a mild call to duty. Speaking tenderly in a gentle voice, Divākaramitra reminded the King that the rites of ablution had not yet been performed. When the King complied with his request, the teacher with his wonted courtesy allowed some time to elapse for the brother to soothe the sister's feelings. He then presented to the King a pearl-wreath of avowedly miraculous origin which had come into his hands by the regular succession of pupilhood. The wreath being reputed to be an antedote against all poisons, the teacher justified its presentation to the King, 'as you are ever engaged in helping all living beings' and 'as your life deserves to be well guarded'. The teacher's services were presently to be requisitioned for a more urgent occasion. When Queen Rājyaśrī expressed her desire to assume the red robe of the Buddhist nun, the King remained silent. But the teacher, after addressing her his words of comfort, asked her to abide by the decision of her brother. 'Whether thou regardest him as a brother, as an elder, as one beloved, or as a virtuous man, or as a King—thou must in any case obey his decree.' When the King, after commending the teacher's wisdom, asked that from that day forth the Princess 'should remain at my side and be comforted with your righteous discourses and your passionless instructions and your advice,' Divākaramitra at once complied with the th request with his characteristic self-renunciation. The King, well pleased, took his sister with the holy man and went back in a few marches to his camp stationed along the Ganges banks.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ

By S. K. De

The value of the *Bhagavad-gītā* has been differently estimated by critical scholarship; but it has never been denied that it ranks, as it really does, as one of the greatest religious documents of ancient India and holds a unique place in its religious life. That it contains echoes of the different voices of the past admits of little doubt, but its strong and unmistakable religious note supplies the ultimate stimulus for their synthesis, which is not merely speculative but also practical. There may be some truth in the criticism that the philosophical compromise that it proposes is in some directions transcended by the mystic speculations of the Upaniṣads, by the positivist ethical attitude of Buddhism, or by the scholastic subtlety of later systems of philosophy; but a greater and more ardent attempt is nowhere made to turn philosophy into practical religion and bring the individual and the universe into a personal relation with a living god. As the various earlier streams of fluid philosophical thought meet in the work, the uncertainty of its philosophical position has presented opportunities for the exercise of subtlety of interpretation, on the one hand, and scepticism regarding its consistency, on the other; but this unique combination also explains the vital influence which the work has exercised over many types of the Indian mind. While philosophers of diverse schools interpret it in accordance with their own conceptions, and critical scholars quarrel over the question of its consistency, its deep ethical and religious fervour lifts it above sectarian and scholastic considerations and supply nourishment to devout minds as a gospel of deliverance.

Around a work of this character it is only natural that controversy should gather from the time of the early commentators to that of the modern critical interpreters. The questions regarding its date, its relation to the great Epic, the synthetic unity of its teaching, its original form and subsequent modifications, its ultimate philosophical standpoint and its religious outlook, its origin and its connexion with the history of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva worship,—on these and many other connected problems, scholarly opinion, not only in India but also in the West, has been sharply divided. In the present article a detailed discussion of most of these difficult questions will not be our direct concern; but we shall briefly refer to one or two preliminary points. As to the date of the work, authoritative opinion appears to be veering round the view that the work, in its present form, cannot be placed later than the beginning of the Christian era. Hindu tradition believes in its own statement that it was uttered by Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna on the field of Kurukṣetra. Among modern Indian scholars, Telang and R. G. Bhandarkar claim a fairly high antiquity for the work, and argue in favour of placing it not later than the beginning of the fourth century B.C.; but Lassen and Weber bring it down to the third century A.D. Garbe, accepting the views of Hopkins regarding the final revision of the Epic as a whole, would not assign the present form of the text to a period earlier than the first or second century A.D., although he admits that the genuine *Gītā* originated probably in the first half of the second century B.C. It is not necessary for our purpose to discuss the details of any of these views, or come to a definite chronological conclusion, which by the nature of the problem is almost an impossibility. It will be sufficient for us to accept the almost unanimous admission that the work is certainly much earlier than all the existing works of a distinctly devotional character, and that, as such, it furnishes one of the earliest landmarks in the history of the Indian doctrine of religious devotion (Bhakti). In view of the facts, however, that no clear Buddhistic influence can be traced in the work, which shows a tendency of unifying cults and creeds, that it echoes the Upaniṣads directly and presents earlier inchoate forms of Sāṁkhya, Yoga and Vedānta, and that the worship of Vāsudeva which it inculcates may have been referred to by Pāṇini, it has never been sufficiently proved that the work could not have been produced in the pre-Buddhistic period. The argument of its comparative modernity from its style is neither safe nor convincing; for, to take one instance, the *Bṛhaddevatā,* which hardly presents a more antique style, cannot, in the opinion of Macdonell, be placed later than 400 B.C. It will be enough for us to recognise that the presumption of an early date has not been successfully rebutted, and that most of the arguments in favour of a late date are mainly conjectural or based upon meagre and uncertain data. As the further question of the date of the *Mahābhārata* itself and its subsequent revisions is yet a matter of controversy, it is not possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to determine at what period the *Bhagavad-gītā* found its way into the main body of the Epic or was developed further from an existing nucleus; but there is nothing to prevent us from assuming that it could not have found its way into the Epic or further developed at a very late date.

As to the process of the alleged remodelling of the work, scholarly opinion has not been unanimous, and there has been endless discussion about its original form and character. Holtzmann maintains that the *Gītā* is a Viṣṇuite remodelling of an originally pantheistic or Vedāntic poem; Hopkins thinks that it is a Kṛṣṇaite version of an older Viṣṇuite poem, which in its turn was originally a late unsectarian Upaniṣad; Garbe regards it as a popular devotional Bhāgavata tract revised in a Vedāntic sense by Brahmanism; Deussen is of opinion that it is a late product of decadent Upaniṣadic thought; Barnett believes that it is a document of the Vāsudevic cult, but that the different streams of tradition became confused in the mind of the author; Keith takes it as an Upaniṣad of the *Śvetāśvatara* type adapted later to the Kṛṣṇa cult; while Belvalkar has recently put forward the view that it represents the last elaborate attempt made by the Śrauta religion to defend orthodox Brahmanism against the disruptive forces of the popular religion. It it not necessary to accept any of these conjectures, but it must be made clear that most of these views are based mainly on hypothetical considerations. It is neither scientific, nor is it possible without the risk of objections and contradictions, to split up the text convincingly and separate the alleged additions on these or similar preconceived grounds.

It is not denied that, like the other portions of the epic and like some of the Upaniṣads, the *Gītā* probably suffered occasional interpolations or that it existed in different recensions; but to maintain that the work is a poor patchwork, or to deny that it is a powerful synthetic expression of a particular trend of religious thought is to miss the essential significance of the poem, as well as to go directly against the testimony of Indian tradition which has always attempted, even from different points of view, a synthetic interpreattion of the poem as a whole. It is not necessary, however, to premise dogmatically at the outset that the *Gītā* has succeeded in gathering up the different currents of thought into a compact whole, but certain facts are revealed by the text in its present form, which may be affirmed with some amount of confidence.

If we investigate the traces of devotional ideas in the Upaniṣads, we can see that, within their intellectual theosophy, distinctly theistic and devotional tendencies were gradually developing.[1] This may have been due partly to an innate theistic strain in the Upaniṣads themselves and partly to the individual spiritual illumination of particular seers; but it must have been also due to an inevitable compromise between the high philosophy and speculation about the impersonal Brahman, on the one hand, and the vivid popular faiths which, on the other, must have been gathering round the devout worship of personal gods. The impersonal Brahman was more and more personalised, until we have the presentation of the god Rudra-Śiva as an aspect of the Brahman in the *Śvetāśvatara;* on the other hand, the larger emotions and sentiments of popular faiths began to be justified and reinterpreted by the philosophy and practices of hieratic Brahmanism. Importance came to be attached to personal devotion and divine grace, but the necessity of knowledge and practical activity still ramained. The compromise was probably not the result of any deliberate theological attempt on either side; for the Brahmanical religion was as much popularised as the popular religion was Brahmanised, so that in the end what issued was as much Brahmanical as popular. In the syncretic theism of the *Bhagavad-gītā,* as also in the general religious attitude of the Epic itself, we have probably a notable instance of such a fusion of the two streams, the hieratic and the popular; but they have merged and coalesced in such a manner that it is difficult now to separate them. The supposition that the popular faith was merely engrafted on Brahman orthodoxy is as much unwarranted and one-sided, as the view that Brahman orthodoxy superimposed itself upon the popular faith. The *Gītā,* as we possess it, is neither a purely priestly product, nor a purely devotional document of a popular faith. Such deliberate theological artifice, as some scholars have presumed, is hardly effective in controlling the tides of religious life. It can produce a marvellous systematic theological treatise, but it is hard to believe that it could create a genuinely religious document like the *Bhagavad-gītā.* Having regard to these considerations it would be better and more historical to presume that the *Gītā* embodies a certain trend of religious thought or feeling as it finally crystallised itself, and therefore contains as much Brahmanic as popular elements, inseparably merged into one another.

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[1] See *IHQ*, September 1930, pp. 493f.

The incongruities of such an alliance between the high philosophy of an intellectual aristocracy and the living fervour of popular sentiments are, however, so great that it is only natural that critical scholars have exercised themselves a great deal over the consistency of the compromise, apparent in the *Gītā,* of the different streams of speculative thought and religious feeling. But one would be hardly justified in regarding these incongruities as extraneous and artificially connected; they form a part and parcel of its peculiar theology, and cannot be isolated or rejected without detriment to the peculiar religio-historical significance of the work. As in the Nārāyaṇīya episode of the *Mahābhārata,* so also here we have a strange blending of divergent ideas and sentiments; but the speculative aspect of the *Gītā* is as much essential as the fervid religious aspect which enlivens its speculations.

The incongruities, such as they are, should thus be recognised and explained by a consideration of the probable circumstances under which the poem originated. It does not solve the problem if the critic sets about to suspect a word here and a passage there, and complacently rejects or separates them in accordance with his *a priori* theories instead of taking into account the philosophical and religious environment which produced the poem and attempting an intrinsic and harmonious interpretation in that light. A critical reconstruction of the text[2] from existing manuscript material of various versions and recensions must be definitely established before such theories can be broad-based; for no research can fruitfully proceed on the basis of an uncertain text. Critical intellect will have to work carefully before it can deduce a consistent system from the work, but apparent inconsistencies at first sight should not be made a ground for dogmatising about successive recast of the work by different hands in different centuries. Even admitting that there are heterogeneous doctrines, exaggerations and repetitions, they do not by themselves prove the actual fact of one or more revisions. The theory of a recast document is founded for the most part on the fact that the poem attempts to reconcile so many conflicting points of view; but there is nothing unusual in a work adopting this attitude in an age of genuine spiritual uncertainty. It is brilliant but superficial criticism which stigmatises such a powerful work as "an ill-assorted cabinet of primitive philosophical opinions."[3] Its purely philosophical position is perhaps not quite strong, but its object appears to be less philosophical than religious. It is more a reconciliation of existing beliefs and speculations by the living warmth of a dynamic religious feeling, than a careless throwing together or haphazard revision of an inconsistent medley. In realising its particular object, the work was probably not making a deliberate theological attempt, but was merely giving expression to a particular tendency of its age, to a new situation that might have arisen out of conflict of views. Much can be made of its apparent inconsistencies by an exaggerated or misdirected criticism of its contents, by an isolation of passages from their context, and by an unfortunate misapprehension of its total significance. The reconciliation that the work proposes may not have been always perfect, but it does not follow that the work was necessarily a patchwork. Its unity lies in its general religious tendency and purpose, and the presence of heterogeneous ideas or of a fluid terminology is not in itself incompatible with consistent teaching, though it may be with systematic doctrine. In the diversity of opinions it absorbs, its dominating note of Bhakti as a religious attitude is clear and unequivocal, and gives a synthetic significance to its so-called medley of diverse elements.

So much has been written, and written with knowledge and insight, on the various aspects of the teachings of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, that it is not necessary within the limits of a short article to consider them here in detail. But from whatever point of view the work is approached, it would not be right to suppose that its doctrines are presented in a completely systematic form. It has not, on the one hand, the illimitable suggestiveness of the Upaniṣads and their tentative intuitions of metaphysical truths; it does not also, on the other hand, possess the scholastic exactitude of later systems of philosophy. It probably represents a stage midway between these two. There is no doubt that divergent ways of thought meet in it, but it would be scarcely correct to regard it as a deliberate attempt at synthesis, for the simple reason that these somewhat fluid doctrines themselves, as the *Gītā* itself as well as the various religious and philosophical documents in the Epic would indicate, have not yet arrived at such a fully articulated stage as would place them in explicit antagonism. But since the work aims at reaching a unity in the midst of such diversity by its undoubted religious power, it possesses a more synthetic character than most works of the same type. The work is not systematic, but it does not follow that it is not fundamentally consistent or definite. We shall confine ourselves in this essay chiefly to the consideration of the *Gītā* as one of the earliest religious works which inculcate a clear and fundamental doctrine of Bhakti. The philosophical background is also important and cannot be ignored, but the deep and fervid feeling with which it expresses certain aspects of an early Bhakti religion is of much greater interest. It has been often doubted whether the two streams, one essentially reflective and the other predominantly emotional, have found their complete fusion in the poem; but there is no proof that the one element ever existed independently of the other in an earlier form of the text. The essential and unifying inspiration of the work, however, is to be found not so much in this fact of fusion as in the great religious power of its warmer devotional element, which gives it its unique place in the religious history of India.

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[2] The Bhandarkar Institute edition of the critical text of the Bhīṣma-parvan (including the *Gītā*) is now being prepared by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar; let us hope it will be soon published.

[3] Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 399.

It has been already amply demonstrated by competent scholars that the *Bagavad-gītā* shows a full knowledge of the earlier philosophical and religious literature. The Brahmanic ritualism and its dogmas, which must have by this time well-nigh spent their force, are recognised in many a scattered passage[4] but there is an anxiety to reinterpret and reconcile them to its own peculiar teachings. The formal conformity of the ritualist, who believes in the efficacy of a correct performance of the Vedic Sacrifice, is disapproved, but the way of ritualism is not altogether rejected. The cosmic purpose of the Vedic Sacrifice is still admitted, but it is fully emphasised that the normal ritualistic acts should not be undertaken with the narrow object of specific rewards or for the mere purpose of attaining merit. Those who desire lower ends, no doubt, attain them; but such ends do not carry them very far. Such merit is exhausted after a time, and there is no permanent release from the cycle of births and deaths. Those, on the other hand, who abjure all desire for the fruits of action and dedicate them to the Bhagavat attain mental equipoise and elevation above their work, which lead them to true devotion and ultimate salvation. An attempt is also made to rationalise the Yajña or Sacrifice by understanding it in a wider and more spiritual sense, a tendency which set in at the Upaniṣadic period but which is further developed in a new way. There are many ways, we are told, of performing sacrificial acts, but we may distinguish the literal performance from the symbolical. Restraint of the senses, attainment of knowledge, indeed all dutiful acts, all *tapas,* are spoken of as symbolical sacrifices. If they are done in a spirit of perfect selflessness, they are *sāttvika;* if with a selfish purpose, they are *rājasika;* if in ignorance, they are *tāmasika.* The root-idea of a Yajña is the sacrificing of the lower for the higher good. Generalising this concept, the highest Yajña is held to be that in which a man lays down all his cosmic desires and interests at the altar of the Bhagavat. Thus, accepting the authoritativeness of the Brahmic ritualism, as well as the right performance of the prescribed duties of caste and class, the *Gītā* makes them subservient to its peculiar doctrine of Karman in relation to Bhakti.

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[4] ii. 42-46; iii. 9-16; iv. 23-33; ix. 20-21; xvi. 22-23; xvii. 11-13; xviii. 3-8.

In the same way, the *Gītā* shows a full knowledge of the diverse teachings of the Upaniṣads, but modifies them in its own light. The Upaniṣadic doctrine of Ātman-Brahman, the conception of Puruṣa, and the somewhat late idea of Īśvara are clearly represented in the *Gītā,* as well as the Yogic methods of self-realisation, the description of Sacrifice as a form of Brahman and its mystical explanation, the doctrine of Devayāna and Pitṛyāna ways and other minor technicalities made current by the Upaniṣads. The Brahma-vidyā is acknowledged, and all religious implications are fully drawn out; but the impersonal Brahman is fully personalised, and the efficacy of pure knowledge for release and of the quietistic methods of the Upaniṣads is admitted only up to a certain point. The *Gītā* assures us that all this is Sāṁkhya doctrine, but in reality it is Upaniṣadic, and does not resemble the Sāṁkhya of later times.[5] But by Sāṁkhya, which as a technical term is contrasted with Yoga, is probably meant the reflective and meditative method of those who rely on knowledge for release; while Yoga is the attainment of self-control and balance of mind by a selfless performance of ordained duties.

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[5] On the somewhat uncertain meaning of the terms Sāṁkhya and Yoga in the Epic, see *IHQ,* March 1932, p. 64, footnote. The question has been discussed by Hopkins, in the *Great Epic of India.*

Somewhat in the manner of the *Śvetāśvatra Upaniṣad* the *Gītā* speaks of three aspects of godhead, admitting two parallel manifestations of Prakṛti or Primal Matter and Jīvātman or individual Soul, and regarding them both as phases of the cosmic form of the Ātman or Brahman, who is of course identified with the Bhagavat. The doctrine is metaphorically set forth in the well known description of the Kṣetra and the Kṣetrajña in ch. xiii, where the Kṣetra or the Field is presumably the ceaseless area (in the Sāṁkhya manner) of the activity of Prakṛti, as the seat of the conditioned soul, the Kṣetrajña, who is an aspect of the supreme Kṣetrajña, the Bhagavat, indwelling in all Kṣetras. Although the *Gītā* does not accept the Sāṁkhya theory of non-active Puruṣa and its silence about God, the Sāṁkhya terminology of categories, which was apparently ancient, is introduced to explain the relation of the supreme self to the material and spiritual worlds of conditioned being. The evolution of Prakṛti is attributed to the five elements and the Buddhi, Manas, Ahaṁkāra etc., which correspond to the twenty-four principles of Sāṁkhya as phases of energising Matter; and the doctrine of the three Guṇas is recognised in explaining cosmic causation and activity. The *Gītā* also speaks of two Puruṣas, the perishable and the imperishable, as well as a third Puruṣa or Puruṣottama, who transcends both the perishable and the imperishable, so that the three Puruṣas are really one Puruṣa in three aspects. This theistic Puruṣa-doctrine is obviously a development of the Upaniṣadic teaching, and not of the Sāṁkhya which denies a supreme Puruṣa and believes in an infinite number of separate Puruṣas. It will be thus seen that although the *Gītā* employs the Sāṁkhya terminology, it does not employ it always in its Sāṁkhya signification; nor does it accept all the implications of the classical Sāṁkhya metaphysics. The *Gītā* is openly theistic, but the Sāṁkhya avoids the question of God. The Sāṁkhya influence is recognised in its conception of Prakṛti and Puruṣa, but the dualism is reconciled by the existence of an Uttama Puruṣa. It would seem, therefore, that some forms of inchoate Sāṁkhya doctrine existed when the work was composed, but the latter classical Sāṁkhya philosophy was probably unknown.

The Gītā does not appear to accept the specifically Vedāntic position of the unreality of Matter, but holds firmly to the Sāṁkhya in this respect. The term Māyā is indeed employed, but the Māyā is not material existence. It is rather the mode in which the Matter is apprehended by the Mind, both of which are eternal verities. The *Gītā* appears to agree with the *Śvetāśvatara* in making Īśvara the creator of Māyā, which however is not identical with Prakṛti or with Avidyā. It is the divine power of cosmic illusion whereby, through the medium of Prakṛti and the Guṇas, the Īśvara veils his real being.[6]

These and other instances of absorption and reconciliation of divergent philosophical ideas make it almost futile to seek in the *Gītā* a technically perfect philosophical system, promulgated with scholastic accuracy and precision. Its philosophical teaching has all the characteristics of the confused philosophy of the Epic itself and its somewhat fluid terminology. The essentially religious, rather than philosophical, character of the work is also clear from the way in which certain older metaphysical ideas are harmonised with its clearly theistic and devotional attitude. Its mystical-devotional reconciliation is indeed often brilliant, but from the point of view of cold reasoning it does not always give us exact information as to how contradictory ideas are to be logically combined. The problem, for instance, of the transformation of the impersonal Absolute into a personal God is solved by the supposition that it is due to Māyā or cosmic illusion; in other words, it is a mystery. In the same way is explained the relation of the Absolute to the world. The final union of the individual self with the supreme, which the Sāṁkhya explains by the action of the purified Buddhi, is attributed in the *Gītā* to divine grace responding to human faith and love.

The *Gītā* accepts implicity the Upaniṣadic Brahma-vidyā in a somewhat modified form, but it hardly subscribes to the extreme Upaniṣdic standpoint of quietism or release through knowledge. With its characteristic attitude of tolerance and compromise, the *Gītā* does not entirely reject the way of knowledge, of Jñāna-yoga, which (designated as the practice of the Sāṁkhya) teaches the intellectual intuition of the Absolute by the casting off (*saṁnyāsa*) of all works and practising meditation on the distinction between Self and not-Self. This intellectual gnosis of the old Upaniṣads and the Sāṁkhya is indeed recognised, but the method is not commended because of its difficulty and uncertainty of success. Much easier, we are told, is the way of works (Karma-yoga), which consists in the performance of all social and religious duties in a spirit of perfect selflessness and devotion. Thus, while not rejecting the "Sāṁkhya" or philosophy based on knowledge, it makes a special pleading for "Yoga" or philosophy based on action; for it aims at teaching not so much a system of speculation as a rule of life. The traditional doctrine of Karman is accepted but with certain important modifications. The *Gītā* disapproves, as we have seen, the method of those who act with a desire for reward, but it does not also approve of the view of those who push the doctrine of Karman to its misdirected logical extreme and teach that inasmuch as action binds the self to Saṁsāra or repeated rebirth, release can be attained by a complete cessation from activity.

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[6] In this the *Gītā* agrees partially with the Nārāyaṇīya conception of Māyā; *IHQ, loc. cit.*, p. 67.

But meditative discipline, we are told, is as important for the Way of Knowledge as for the Way of Action. A mood of detachment and equipoise (*samatva*) must be secured in order that works done under the rule of action become in the end no-works, and do not fetter the self. Apart from practical Yogic methods, this is achieved, in the first place, by a conscientious discharge of all proper duties (*dharma*); in the second place, works must be performed without 'attachment,' that is, without egoistic consciousness of the agent (*kartṛtvābhimāna*) and desire for the fruit (*phalāśā*); and lastly, devoid of selfish thought or purpose, all acts and their fruits must be dedicated to the Bhagavat, making every act an offering of devotion and love. The complete abandonment of egoism and purposiveness destroys that element in action which fetters the self to material existence and causes rebirth, for works done in this spirit are really no-works. He has truly abandoned action who has abandoned the interest and the fruits thereof. This is the true renunciation (*saṁnyāsa*), the true control (*yoga*), and prepares one infallibly for divine grace and salvation. It involves no irresponsible renunciation of ordained duties, no break from wholesome social life, but brings into play the best elements of human nature. It is not the meditative inactivity taught by some philosophers, for it is a state of inaction (*naiṣkarmya*) reached through right action.

The discipline thus prescribed is not only moral but also religious. The universal order of things demands activity from man, but if his actions are disinterested he conforms to the categorical moral imperative of doing his duty because it is duty. But he also performs his duty because it is the will of God, to whom he dedicates all his acts and the fruits thereof. The aspirant truly becomes a Yogin and Saṁnyāsin, disciplined in sense and intellect; but the spirit of constant love and services gives a spiritual significance to his merely ethical acts. Thus, the activism which the *Gītā* presents is not a formal conformity to a prescribed code, but is based upon a knowledge or philosophy of action and a strong religious feeling. This makes every act of life symbolically an act of sacrifice, frees the self from attachment and delusion, and absolves it from the polluting effect of action. The Bhagavat himself sets the highest example of work by incarnating himself from time to time in a cosmic spirit of self-surrendering grace for the good of the world. His cosmic work is no-work because it is done in divine unselfishness, and does not involve him in the bondage of Karman. By dedicating all works to him, the devotee merges, as it were, his own individual action in his cosmic action, his own individuality in his cosmic life. This ethical and theistic position gives a remarkable synthesis of the ancient fatalistic axiom of Karman with the belief in a personal god of grace and love, admitting its inexorableness but tempering, moralising and sanctifying it with the idea of divine cosmic work and grace. Under this teaching, human activity, like the divine, does not transgress but transcends the law of Karman.

This brings us to the special doctrine of the *Gītā,* the Bhakti-yoga, the spirit of love and service to a personal god, which supplies the unifying principle to the alliance it seeks to establish between Knowledge and Work, Renunciation and Devotion. The older philosophic speculation had already taught that knowledge alone is the way to release, but the *Gītā* maintains that this knowledge, partly won by intellectual and partly by practical activity of a certain kind, is the knowledge not of an unqualified entity, but of a Being of infinite good qualities and illimitable grace. He is the Ātman, Brahman, Īśvara, Puruṣa or Puruṣottama, but he is also really, though infinitely, qualified by all conceivable good attributes, informing with reality the eternal but conditioned categories of matter (Prakṛti) and individual self (Jīva), which emerge periodically from Him into manifestation. The power by which He thus determines Himself into conditioned being is His own cosmic power of illusion or Māyā, which veils His true nature. The way of approach may be found through knowledge or through austere works, but in all seekings there must be an undivided spirit of loving devotion and service, which alone is capable of finding what is even hidden from the sage or the Yogin.

The Upaniṣads had already prescribed certain methods of symbolic meditation for turning the senses inward and attaining a mystical intuition of Reality, but they had also gradually reached an almost theistic position of realising an all-indwelling and all-transcending Brahman, who is invested more or less with personal attributes and conceived as Īśvara. The purely intellectualistic position of meditation on the unconditioned Non-manifest is characterised by the *Gītā* as Avyakta-upāsanā which is indeed a way of approach but which involves a long and troublesome process of discipline, open only to the few. It is easier to concentrate upon a concrete object of worship; and the Vyakta-upāsanā, which is meditation upon the Absolute as a manifest and concrete personality, is not only open to all, but also affords a scope for a direct personal relation of love and service.

This vital and vitalising element of Bhakti changes the emphasis from the speculative to the practical, and converts what would have been a merely philosophical treatise into a powerful religious document. It teaches the love and service of a personal god of love and grace, probably in an age when God was being lost in divergent speculations. It gives expression to a form of synthesis between the conflicting conceptions of previous thinkers and ritualists, on the one hand, and the popular worship of a personal god, on the other. It presents the worshipper with a visible object of devotion approachable at all times and places, and teaches the value of a harmonious combination of knowledge, discipline and service in religious life. As the teaching checks extreme rationalism, on the one hand, it tends, on the other, to rationalise blind sectarianism by placing it on the firm foundation of knowledge and discipline, and by preaching tolerance to all modes of worship as aspects merely of the worship of a supreme deity. Whatever value its synthesis of traditional philosophical and religious views may be held to possess, there can be no doubt that it speaks of Bhakti with no uncertain voice; and it is this element which supplies stimulus to its synthesis and gives it whatever unity it possesses.

There is no direct exposition or philosophical justification in the work of the doctrine of Bhakti and Prasāda, probably for the reason that the mutual relation of the devotee and the deity is regarded as an object of realisation, and not of description or discussion. But the leading ideas are clear. It may begin with belief or Śraddhā, and belief implies the recognition of an object which is true and worthy of devotion; but it is essentially a proper activity of the emotional possibilities of human nature in its striving after the supreme or the ideal, which affords an escape from the limits of egoism. As it is essentially an emotion, it implies a dualism, as well as the fact of a living personal relation. The supreme or ideal, therefore, cannot be an abstraction or a shadow of our own minds, but it must have a concrete individual existence, with which loving communion is possible. At the same time, it cannot be entirely foreign to, or entirely identical with, the consciousness of the aspirant, in order that it may be the object of attainment. There is, thus, a necessity for an undivided and endless striving of the intellect, will and feeling, and for an awe-inspiring sense of the supreme and of consequent humility and self-surrender; but the striving at every point touches the ideal because the unfailing and infinite love of the supreme responds to the full and self-surrendering love of the individual.

The Bhakti of the *Gītā* is, no doubt, an emotional attitude of worship, which every true religion must recognise, but from what has been said above, it is clear that it is not a blind intensity of feeling or an unreasoned ecstasy, divorced from knowledge or the duties of practical life. It is emphasised that emotion must have a high place in a religious attitude, but true emotion cannot be over-emphasised and isolated from knowledge and work. The true Bhakti is declared to be the most vital of all elements which contribute to that equipoise or balance of mind (*samatva*), in which reason, will and emotion play their proper part, because it leads to the consecration of every act of life to the disinterested service of the Lord. The various descriptions of the ideal man, whether he is the Jñānin, the Sthita-prajña, the Yoga-rūḍha, the Brahmabhūta, the Guṇātīta or the Bhakta,[7] practically depict the same man looked at from the points of view of Jñāna, Karman or Bhakti. In this respect the speculative and ethical Bhakti of the *Gītā* differs from the Bhakti of the mediæval emotionalists, who would reject Jñāna, and even Karman, and regard ecstatic passion of a mystic-erotic nature as essential. The *Gītā* doctrine is characterised by a broader view of human personality, and it does not, therefore, isolate the fervour of religious emotion from intellectual seriousness and ethical activity.

We have found the same broadness of outlook in the liberal tendencies of the *Gītā* in recognising whatever value there was in older beliefs and practices. A similar attitude of toleration and compromise also marks its views about "other gods" and other modes of worship.[8] When the Bhagavat calls upon Arjuna to leave all and follow him (xviii. 65-66), he should be understood as preaching sectarian worship, but the *Gītā* by its speculative equipoise and its liberal attitude regarding liberty of thought and worship, rises far above narrow sectarianism; and it is a high tribute to its achievement in this direction that it has lent itself to interpretations other than Bhāgavata, and has been understood as teaching even such extreme idealistic monism as that of Śaṃkara. The justification of this tolerant attitude is found in the recognition of the infinite variety of aspects in which the supreme deity may present itself to the diversity of men and minds, as well as in the views that some kind of worship is better than none. The worship offered to other deities is represented as indirect, even if imperfect, worship offered to the Bhagavat himself. Different men are actuated by different motives and desires; but a man is as his thoughts and desires are, and attains what he seeks. Those who desire lower ends and worship lower forms receive their ends and their fruits of worship accordingly; for the Lord resorts to men in the way in which he is approached. The lower forms are really stepping stones to the higher, for worship offered with devotion to whatsoever deity has its own reward, and prepares the mind to higher consciousness. Other devotees attain finite ends; but the devotees of the Supreme attain him.

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[7] ii. 56-72; vi. 4-32; x. 9-10; xii. 13-20; xiii, 7-11; xiv. 21-35; xvi. 1-3; xviii. 50-60.

[8] iv. 11; vii. 21-23; ix. 23-25.

[9] It is, however, noteworthy that most of the other Gītās embedded in the present text of the *Mahābhārata* are hardly sectarian in the narrow sense. Most of these are brief, and have the special object of discussing some moral or philosophical problem. They have no special deity like Śiva or Gaṇeśa to plead for. The Vicakhnu Gītā (xii. 264), for instance, is a brief denunciation of the use of unclean meat and drink; the Vṛtra Gītā (xii. 278) is an exposition of the doctrine of Karman, Saṁsāra etc.; the Utathya Gītā (xii. 90-91) describes the virtues of a Kṣatriya. See *IHQ*, 1927, pp. 7f.

Sectarian prejudice is thus disapproved by teaching that the sectarian gods are really different aspects of the supreme deity; and the Mahābhārata doctrine of Avatāra helped to absorb these "other gods" as aspects of or identical with the Bhagavat.[10] The *Gītā* recognises different kinds and grades of devotees (vii, 16-18; xii, 9-12), for a man's faith is determined according as he is influenced by the qualities of goodness, activity or ignorance (xvii. 2f.; xv. 6f.). With the exception of scoffers and unbelievers (xvi. 19f.), the *Gītā* shows an anxiety to throw the way of Bhakti open to men of all castes and conditions, even including the Śūdras and women, who have been excluded by Brahmanic orthodoxy, as well as to the feeblest seeker, the worst of sinners, and the ignorant who conforms blindly to Śāstric injunctions and knows nothing higher (iii. 25-26). The *Gītā* accepts the established social order, and approves of the injunctions regarding the duties of different castes and stages of life (xviii. 41-45; xvi. 23-24); but its sanctifying theory of desireless and devotional action does not make caste or condition a barrier, but an avenue to salvation.

The doctrine of Bhakti, therefore, is presented in a very simple and comprehensive form, and does not show any such bewildering and unattractive display of analysis as the mediæval exponents of the Bhakti cult delight to elaborate. Although various means are suggested for the realisation of the devotional attitude, it is recognised that no fixed rules can be laid down. The Bhakta need not, like the followers of Jñāna- and Karma-kāṇḍa, practise his devotion singly or in solitude, nor need he engage himself in elaborate schemes of ritual; he may (x. 9) meet other devotees, and enlighten one another by religious discourses. But the feeling must mould itself according to the habits and minds of men. Thus, giving up of sense-desires, turning the mind inward by means of symbols and discipline, Yogic methods, realisation of the supreme being in nature and self, contemplation of divine attributes, constant remembrance, discourse and conversation on God, adoration and external worship, selfless performance of all acts as dedicated to

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[10] It must be noted that the incarnations in the Epic belong peculiarly and almost exclusively to Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa; we have little or nothing of the incarnations of other deities.

God,—by mentioning these and other ways of spiritual experience and worship, the *Gītā* recognises that the one supreme God, revealing himself in different ways, can be approached and worshipped by no fixed rule or method To all men the Bhagavat is impartial, desiring in his infinite grace the welfare of all, and resorts to men in the way in which they resort to him. All may approach him, and these are only some of the means. But supreme devotion in the end implies a complete self-surrender, not in inactivity but in selfless activity, not in ignorance but in the fulness of knowledge, merging one's life in His cosmic life, dedicating all thought, action and feeling to Him.

As the doctrine seeks to establish a personal relationship between the deity and the devotee, it not only invests the deity with a personality and an infinitude of attributes, but it also emphasises divine grace on the one hand, and man's need of loving devotion on the other. One of the greatest acts of divine graciousness to the world is God's coming to birth from birthlessness by his own cosmic power of illusion (Māyā) and veiling his real nature by manifesting himself as an individual at the time of the world's need. The doctrine of Avatāra or periodical descent of godhead, which should be distinguished from the Vyūha doctrine ignored in the *Gītā*, is generally acknowledged in the *Mahābhārata;* but the fact of Avatāra in this work is probably a necessary corollary to its proposed identification of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, whose worship it inculcates as the Bhagavat, with the Supreme Being. The doctrine of repeated Avatāras was also necessary to connect him with earlier cosmogonic and theriomorphic myths and legends. Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa is thus identified not only with Viṣṇu, the greatest deity in the Epic, as well as with his various forms and incarnations, but is also related to Śiva, Brahmā and other gods of rival sects, who are subsumed under one supreme name. In this way the doctrine attempts to establish a unity of the godhead and check blind sectarian attitude by its somewhat elastic and tolerant scope. The *raison d'être* of the Avatāra doctrine, however, is found in the recognition of the supreme deity as the upholder of the moral order of the world, and in the somewhat deistic conception of repeated descents for setting the world right. Looked at from another point of view, the doctrine implies the deification of the human, a belief in superior beings who become the embodiment of the divine. It affords, therefore, tangible and effective divine ideals towards which imperfect mortals may strive and grow.

SHUJA-UD-DAULA AS A DIPLOMAT

(1765-75 A. D.)

By A. F. M. Khalilur Rahaman

After the treaty of Allahabad (16 Aug., 1765), Shuja-ud-daula was only the Nawab of Oudh and that too with certain limitations. His foreign policy was now controlled by his patron, the government of the East India Company at Calcutta. Kora and Allahabad had been taken away from him and given to the Emperor, Shah Alam. The Wizarat had also been transferred from him to the Emperor's own son. And Najib-ud-daula, the Mir Bakshi, continued to rule over Delhi and the royal family staying there.

Such was the sad result of Shuja's schemes and intrigues in the past.[1] In fact, he had a providential escape from utter ruin. Besides, he could now rest assured about his own safety, for he could always count upon the help of the much dreaded English military machine. Yet it was just not in Shuja to remain idle. He was convinced of the futility of trying to fight the English. But he was not slow to use their friendship in his future designs to better his own position. His objective was to regain the Wizarat, to extend his territories westwards and to install the Emperor at Delhi under his own control.

Early in 1766, the Emperor was alarmed about the safety of his own family at Delhi, because of the invasion of the Sikhs and Najib's difficulty in coping with them. He was well aware of the English policy of non-interference in the politics of Delhi. So he appealed to the Marathas for help, who immediately sent their agents to Allahabad to settle terms.[2] Shuja reported the matter to Calcutta, depicting it in a very serious light. Clive started for Chapra and called a congress of the neighbouring states, for bringing about an anti-Maratha league (July, 1766).[3] So the Emperor turned away from the Marathas and sent his representatives to Chapra. Shuja came to Chapra and prevailed upon Clive to put pressure upon the Emperor to re-appoint him as Wazir. And this the Emperor agreed to do.[4]

The question of an anti-Marahta league was, however, cleverly shelved by Shuja, for it would then have tied him down to a policy, which would have given him no-hope of any territorial expansion in future. He convinced Clive that "distant alliances could be of no advantage, since it is certain that neither the Jats nor the distant Rohillas (Najib) would ever be prevailed upon to march to our assistance in case of an invasion."[5] He also gave him to understand that the assembling at Chapra of the chiefs or agents of "those whose alliance may be useful" (the chiefs of Rohilkhand and the Bangash Nawab of Farrukhabad), would "detain him for several months." Clive, therefore, entrusted Shuja with the "management of such Treaties, as he thought convenient," with the "useful" group of states, provided that the approval by the government at Calcutta of the various terms was previously obtained.[6] Nothing was done by Shuja about the proposed alliance. And the government at Calcutta did not put any pressure upon Shuja either, because the Sikhs had been expelled from the suburbs of Delhi by Najib Khan.

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[1] Please refer to my article, Shuja-ud-daula as a Diplomat (1754-65), in the Indian Historical Quarterly, March, 1943.

[2] Sel. Com. Proceedings, 28 February, 1766.

[3] Ibid., Letter to Col. Smith.

[4] Calender of Persian Correspondence, 11, No. 1044.

The Maratha threat, however, reappeared in a far more alarming way in 1770. A large army under Ram Chander Ganesh, assisted by Visaji Krishna Biniwala, Mahadji Sindhia and Tukoji Holkar, marched up towards Hindustan. Of the previous Maratha Jagirs in Hindustan, Najib Khan held Mirat, the chiefs of Rohilkhand were in possession of Etawa and Shakohàbad, the Bangash Nawab was ruling over Akbarpur, and the Emperor Shah Alam was the master of Kora and Karra. Hence Najib, the Rohilla chiefs and the Bangash Nawab naturally expected that Shuja and the English would make a common cause with them against the Marathas. But they were rudely disillusioned. Shuja excused himself from joining the anti-Maratha coalition on the ground of his inability to face the Marathas without the support of the English army.[7] And the support of the English army was not available, because according to the instructions of their Home government, they could not go beyond Oudh and Allahabad, their "line of defence." In fact, Shuja, who was in no danger of destruction at the hands of the Marathas because of the English support to him, was determined to profit by the situation. The destruction of his neighbouring states by the Marathas would be all to his own advantage, because the invaders could not stay on indefinitely in Hindustan and must either attack him or make peace with him. If attacked, he could defeat them with the aid of the English army and thus take possession of their territories in Hindustan. And if his friendship was sought, he could easily get a share of their newly acquired gains.

Najib Khan and the Rohilla chiefs, therefore, decided upon a compromise with the Marathas, by offering to return their jagirs and join them in an expedition against the English, for releasing the Emperor. The Marathas accepted the offer, and even went so far as to allow Najib Khan to retain Mirat.[8] But this was going to upset Shuja's plan. So he came forward with his long sought for promise of help to the Rohillas and the Bangash Nawab against the

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5. Sel. Com. Pro., 12 Aug., 1766—Letter Clive & Carnac, 15 July.
6. Ibid.
7. Sel. Com. Pro., 21 June, 1770—Letter Dundi Khan.
8. Sel. Com. Pro., 26 May & 29 Dec., 1770—Letters Harper 2 May & 20 Nov.

Marathas. The Rohillas fell into the trap, and rejecting the Maratha terms of friendship, marched up to Fategarh, to be near Oudh and Farrukhabad.[9]

Shuja now tried to ruin Najib Khan. Through Mahadji Sindhia, a victim of Najib at Panipat, he started his intrigues in the Maratha camp. The result was a treacherous attack by the Marathas on Najib's camp.[10] But Tukoji Holkar, with whose family Najib had always been on very good terms, sent him timely information of the plot. This enabled him to escape with his army. Henceforth, Najib Khan, inspite of a reconciliation with the Marathas, thought that they had preferred to be friendly with him, while they were busy settling their affairs with the Jats, lest they should run short of provisions. Besides he was tempted to believe that, the offer of help by Shuja to the Rohillas and the Bangash Nawab, was meant in right earnest. Hence he began to correspond secretly with the Rohillas, promising his own support to a strong anti-Maratha coalition.[11] The Rohillas, accordingly, invited the Emperor to join them and promised to conduct him to Delhi. The Emperor agreed to the proposal and asked his Wazir to attend him with his forces. Shuja was now exposed. He was neither prepared to lose his hold on the Emperor nor to bring other people's chestnuts out of the fire. He evaded the proposed enterprise by making large demands from the Rohillas, on behalf of the Emperor, as a condition for his march.[12]

The Rohillas now wrote to the government at Calcutta, hoping that pressure from them might force Shuja to join the anti-Maratha league.[13] The government at Calcutta thought that Shuja was "too much overcome by his ancient animosity against the Rohillas to have time for calm reflection," and wrote to the Wazir about the necessity of a "vigorous operation against the Marathas" and of the "strictest union with the Rohillas," on the ground that the Rohillas had been "peaceful neighbours" to him and that he would "ill-exchange them with the turbulent and restless Marathas, who are never satisfied with conquest" (21st June, 1770).[14]

Shuja, however, was not prepared to alter his plan. On the contrary he was annoyed and tried to expedite the ruin of the Rohillas. He wrote to the Rohillas, promising to help them with ten thousand troops[15] and, at the same time, sent Umrao Gir to the Marathas, offering to give them eighty lakhs of rupees in return for the cession of Rohilkhand and Farrukhabad to him.[16] He must have also informed Sindhia secretly about Najib's correspondence with the Rohillas. Sindhia intercepted one of Najib's letters to the Rohillas, causing thereby a temporary breach between Najib and the Marathas.[17] And on the arrival of Umrao Gir in the Maratha camp, Sindhia was supported by Visaji in urging for the acceptance of Shuja's offer. But Tukoji disagreed, and Ram Chander, afraid of being distressed for want of provisions if Najib was antagonised, rejected Shuja's offer.[18]

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[9] Faiz Baksh, ff 74a-74b; Sarkar-F of the M. E., 11, p. 413; Sel. Com. Pro., 26 May, 1770.

[10] Sel. Com. Pro., 21 June, 1770—Letter Harper 3 June; Sarkar—F. M. E., 11, p. 411.

[11] Sel. Com. Pro., 21 June, 9 Aug., 11 Aug., 1770—Letters Dundi Khan & Gailliez.

[12] Sel. Com. Pro., 25 Sept., 1770—Letters Hafiz Rahamat Khan & Dundi Khan. Sel. Com. Pro., 5 Oct., 1770—Letter Harper.

[13] Sel. Com. Pro., 21 June, 1770.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Sel. Com. Pro., 25 Sept., 1770.

After this, the Marathas, having their affairs with the Jat kingdom settled through Najib Khan, marched towards Farrukhabad.[19] So Shuja made another attempt to cause a war between the Rohillas and the Marathas. He wrote to the Rohillas declaring his willingness to enter into a treaty of alliance with them, and his resolution to send immediately an army under his third son to the frontiers of Rohilkhand.[20] But the Rohillas paid no heed to it (24 Oct.). The Nawab of Oudh had been found out by now. The Rohillas surrendered the Maratha jagirs peacefully.[21]

While the Marathas were still busy occupying their old jagirs, Najib Khan died (31 Oct.). This changed the entire politics of Hindustan. The Emperor had always been longing for a return to Delhi. He had given up all hopes of ever getting there with the help of his Wazir. He had, however, relied upon his Mir Bakhshi Najib Khan and hence was a party to the recent plans of Najib. But with Najib's death his only hope now lay with the Marathas. So he decided to throw himself into the hands of the Marathas. His proposal reached the Marathas near Farrukhabad and they at once marched up to Delhi and concluded a treaty with him, signed by the Heir apparent, on his behalf (15 Feb., 1771).[22]

Shuja was taken completely by surprise, but he was not the person to sit idle. He submitted to the Emperor an alternative proposal, by which he was prepared to lead an expeditition against the Marathas at Delhi, in alliance with the Rohillas and the Bangash Nawab.[23] But the Emperor was well aware of Shuja's perfidy in the past and of the changed attitude of the Rohillas towards Shuja. So he rejected Shuja's offer.[24] Still Shuja started for the Frontiers of

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[16] Sel. Com. Pro., 11 Aug. & 19 Oct., 1770.
[17] Nuruddin, f 122b; Sel. Com. Pro., 11 Aug., 1770—Letter Harper.
[18] Sel. Com. Pro., 19 Oct. & 7 Nov., 1770—Letters Gailliez and Harper.
[19] Sel. Com. Pro., 7 Nov., 1770—Letters Harper.
[20] Sel. Com. Pro., 7 Nov., 1770-Letter Harper.
[21] Faiz Baksh, f 74b; Sel. Com. Pro., 29 Dec., 1770—Letter Harper.
[22] Sel. Com. Pro., 5 Dec., 1770—Letter Harper; Sarkar—F. M. E., 11, pp. 55-58.
[23] Sel. Com. Pro., 1 March, 1771—Letter Barker.
[24] Sel. Com. Pro., 30 March, 1771—Letter Harper.

Rohilkhand to have an interview with the Rohilla chiefs, hoping that the conclusion of an alliance with them might make the Emperor change his mind. He also wrote to the English that a treaty of alliance with the Rohillas would be his only "security against the future attempt of the Marathas."[25] But he was quite wrong in being so sanguine about the conclusion of an alliance with the Rohillas. He had to come back without even an interview with the Rohillas, with a "sensible shock to his pride"[26] (26 March, 1771).

Shah Alam left Allahabad for Delhi on the 13th April, 1771. Shuja, anxious to please the Emperor so that he might not appoint another Wazir, volunteered to send an escort of ten thousand troops under his son.[27] He then followed the Emperor to Kora and being unwilling to let his son fall into the hands of the Marathas, prevailed upon the Emperor to accept twelve lakhs of rupees instead of the escort previously offered (June).[28]

Shuja next started his intrigues with the Marathas at Delhi, through Mahadji Sindhia. Sindhia was then playing a prominent part in the struggle for leadership of the Maratha army, which was being fought out between Ram Chander and Visaji.[29] Finally, he succeeded in forcing Ram Chander to go back home (end of Sept.) He was then sent by Visaji to conduct the Emperor to Delhi from Nabiganj. After reaching Nabiganj he sent a letter to Shuja through his son-in-law[30] and then marched up to Delhi with the Emperor (25th Nov.).

The news conveyed to Shuja by Mahadji Sindhia was, evidently, the decision of Visaji who wanted to make a compromise with the Rohillas in order to bring the Maratha affairs in Hindustan to a speedy conclusion, in view of the report from home about the war between the Peshwa and Haider Ali, the Nawab of Mysore.[31] The bearer of the letter might also have conveyed the hint that in case the Rohillas should refuse to come to a settlement with the Marathas, Sindhia would be able to prevail upon Visaji, to make a compromise with Shuja, on the basis of the surrender of Kora and Allahabad, in return for the cession of the state of Rohilkhand.

On receipt of the news that the Emperor had marched from Delhi with the Marathas and that he had summoned the Rohilla chiefs and Zabeta Khan, the son and successor of Najib Khan, to appear at Daranagar, to settle the amount of tribute due from them,[32] Shuja planned to stop the Rohilla chiefs and Zabeta Khan from appearing at Daranagar. He tried to convince the Rohillas that he meant to support them against the Marathas by marching up with his forces, and also threatened them with an invasion of their territories, in case of their refusal to accept his support.[33] And, to be able to carry out his plan in an effective manner, he secured the presence of the English Commander-in-Chief in his camp, by giving the government at Calcutta to understand that the latter's presence was essential for the Wazir's present mission of bringing about such a settlement between the Rohillas and the Marathas as would leave a friendly barrier State between him and the Marathas.[34]

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[25] Sel. Com. Pro., 20 March, 1771—Letter Harper.
[26] Sel. Com. Pro., 20 April & 17 May, 1771—Letter Harper.
[27] Sel. Com. Pro., 4 June, 1771—Letter Barker.
[28] Sel. Com. Pro., 23 June, 1771—Letter Barker.
[29] Sel. Com. Pro., 27 Aug., 1771—Letter Harper, 14 July.
[30] Sel. Com. Pro., 10 Jan., 1772—Letter Harper, 30 Nov. 1771.
[31] Sel. Com. Pro., 15 Mar., 1772—Letter Barker, 28 Jan. 1772.
[32] Sel. Com. Pro., 24 June, 1772—Letter Hafiz Rahmat Khan.

The Rohillas, who had already started for Daranagar, were left in an indecisive state at Tilhar. Even Zabeta Khan being completely misled by Shuja's letters and the indecisive attitude of the Rohillas, remained entrenched at Sakartal. The Rohillas requested Shuja to march up an join them in the protection of Rohilkhand. But Shuja carried on useless negotiations about the terms of the proposed alliance till the Marathas had reached Daranagar.[35] Sindhia was now able to win over Visaji to the plan secretly agreed upon between him and Shuja.[36] The combined armies of the Marathas and the Emperor crossed the Ganges at Chandighat and began to devastate Rohilkhand. The Rohilla chiefs sought safety in the jungles of Gangapur, where they were also joined by Zabeta Khan who had fled away from Sakartal (Feb., 1772).[37]

Shuja now received the formal offer of the cession of Rohikhand in return for Kora and Karra from Visaji[38] and wanted to come to a settlement with the Marathas on the pretence that their army was much too strong for him to cope with. The British Commander-in-Chief, Sir Robert Barker, thinking that Shuja's fear was genuine, ordered the 1st. Brigade, under Col. Champion, to march up.[39] But, unfortunately for Shuja, the government at Calcutta were able to see through his plan, and, countermanding the march of the 1st. Brigade, advised Barker to "go to war with the Marathas rather than let the Wazir come to a disgraceful compromise with them" (15 March).[40]

The Wazir was very much disappointed, but he was not going to let the present chance slip without achieving some advantage for himself. He offered to mediate and settle the tribute to be paid by the Rohillas to the Emperor, in return for he cession of Kora and Allahabad to him.[41] This offer was, however, rejected by Visaji out of disgust at Shuja's conduct. The Marathas now promised the Rohillas the restoration of their own territories as well as that of Zabeta Khan in Saharanpur, if they paid adequate tribute to the Emperor.[42]

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[33] Ibid.

[34] Sel. Com. Pro.. 3 Feb., 1772—Letter Barker, 21 January.

[35] Sel. Com. Pro., 15 March, 1772—Letter Barker 25 February.

[36] Sel. Com. Pro., 24 June—Letters Barker 5 April, 4 May & 20 May.

[37] Gulistan, ff 140a-140b; Faiz Baksh, f 78b.

[38] Sel. Com. Pro., 24 June, 1772—Visaji sent Biharji and Malhar Rao as Wakils to Shuja.

[39] Sel. Com. Pro., 15 March, 1772—Letter Barker 28 February.

[40] Ibid.—Deliberations and letter to Barker.

[41] Sel. Com. Pro., 24 June, 1772—Letter Barker 20 May—Elich Khan, Shuja's minister, sent to Visaji & Capt. Harper sent to the Rohillas.

The present move of the Marathas, however, displeased the Emperor, whom they had already given Zabeta's possessions in Saharanpur. Shah Alam wrote to Shuja secretly, offering to grant him Kora and Allahabad, in return for the expulsion of the Marathas from Hindustan.[43] Shuja jumped at the offer, for he was certain the English would support him against the Marathas, and he would be able to realise some money from the Rohillas, which might cover the cost of the proposed campaign.

Accordingly, Shuja sent Capt. Harper to the Rohillas, offering to march up and secure for them their own possessions in Rohilkhand, as well as that of Zabeta Khan in Saharanpur, provided they settled with him the amount of tribute to be paid to the Emperor.[44] Zabeta started for Shuja's camp immediately. But the Rohillas began to delay their decision on various excuses.[45] Soon the Marathas came to know of Shuja's offer to the Rohillas. So they quickly changed their plan and promised the Emperor that they would secure for him the Jat possessions in the Doab in exchange for Saharanpur, which he was to hand over to Zabeta Khan. They also sent Sindhia to Shuja with the Emperor's letter granting him Kora and Allahabad, and asking him to settle the amount of tribute to be paid by the Rohillas.[46]

Shuja was, however, not prepared to change his present plan, for he would secure by it the same advantages that were now offered by the Marathas, besides the honour of being the saviour of the Empire and of the Rohillas. But to further his own plan, he accepted the Maratha offer. The Marathas, accordingly, informed the Rohillas that their exact amount of tribute to the Emperor would be fixed by Shuja's arbitration.[47] And the Rohillas sent their chief Sardar, Hafiz Rahamat Khan, to Shuja's camp (25 May). The Marathas crossed back to the Doab to start their operations against the Jat state and the Emperor went back to Delhi.

Hafiz Rahamat Khan came to Shuja's camp with explicit instructions to settle the amount of tribute to be paid to the Emperor and thus secure peace with the Marathas. Hence he refused to agree to Shuja's plan, on being

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42. Ibid.—Letter Barker 10 May.

43. Ibid.—The Emperor expressed his willingness to throw himself upon the support of the English.

44. Ibid.—The Rohillas were informed that the Emperor was a party to the plan.

45. Ibid.—Letter Barker 18 May.

46. Sel. Com. Pro., 24 June, 1772—Letter Barker 20 May.

47. Twarikh-i-Afghana, f 71b; Qissai Ahwal-i-Rohilla (BR. MUS. Ms.), f 57a; Sel. Com. Pro., 24 June, 1772—Letter Barker 8 June.

informed of it. But, after days of persuasion by Shuja, Zabeta Khan and Sir Robert Barker, he finally yielded. A treaty was concluded between Shuja and the Rohillas, including Zabeta Khan, and it was also attested by Barker (17 June).[48] By this treaty Shuja undertook to "establish all the Rohilla Sardars, great and small, including Zabeta Khan, in their different possessions, obliging the Marathas to retire either by peace or war", and also guaranteed that "should the Marathas, after the expiration of the rainy season, again enter the country of the Rohillas, their Expulsion is the business of the Wazir." The Rohilla chiefs on the other hand, in consequence of the above, agreed to pay forty lakhs of rupees in four instalments, to the Wazir.

Shuja now dismissed Hafiz and Zabeta, "with the greatest profession of cordiality, and the promise to return immediately after the rains to start operations against the Marathas." He then made a formal requisition for the assistance of the government at Calcutta, "to protect him from the consequences of his treaty with the Rohillas," and returned to his own capital.[49]

Luck was, however, conspiring against Shuja. The government at Calcutta had, since 13 April, 1772, come under the control of a new President, Warren Hastings, whose views were quite opposite to those of his predecessor, Cartier. Even before Hastings assumed office (March), he thought that the cession of Rohilkhand to Oudh would make it a geographically compact state, and regretted the rejection by the government at Calcutta, of the Maratha offer to Shuja in this respect, on the ground, that he saw "less danger" in it, than in "running headlong into war with the Marathas."[50] Hence the reply from Calcutta to Shuja's last requisition was a plain refusal, because they disapproved of "offensive measures." Shuja "reiterated in stronger terms his solicitations for Zabeta Khan," but to no purpose.[51]

Meanwhile, the Marathas had come to know of Shuja's treachery to them. So they made peace with the Jats and marched up to the bank of the Ganges to attack Rohilkhand. Shuja made a formal requisition of a Brigade from the English for the protection of his own dominions and then marched up with his troops to help the Rohillas (Sept.).[52] But he acted a little too late. The Marathas were already on the frontiers of Rohilkhand. Hence the Rohillas came to a provisional agreement with the Marathas, and Zabeta Khan started for the Maratha camp (Oct.).[53]

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[48] Tarikh-i-Faiz Baksh, f 18b; Sel. Com. Pro., 20 July, 1772—Letter Barker 17 June & copy of the Treaty in "true translation."

[49] Letter, President and Select Committee at Fort William in Bengal, dated 10 November, 1772, to the Court of Directors in London.

[50] Hastings Papers (Br. Mus. Mss.), Nos. 29127 & 29126—Letters to Sir George Colebrooke, 26 March, 1772 and to Du Pre.

[51] Letter, President and Sel. Com. to the Court of Directors, 10 Nov., 1772.

[52] Sel. Com. Pro., 29 October, 1772—Letters Harper, 29 Aug. & 6, 19 Sept.

The Marathas now asked the Emperor to grant them Kora and Allahabad and to confer on Zabeta the office of Mir Bakhshi. Shuja, still hopeful of English help, encouraged the Emperor to turn down the Maratha demands, promising to come up to his assistance. The Emperor complied with Shuja's request and the Marathas marched towards Delhi to enforce their demands.[54] Shuja wrote to Calcutta, requesting in urgent terms to send their Commander-in-Chief, to concert measures for the defence of the Emperor at Delhi, depicting the situation to be a very serious one, both for himself and the English.[55] But there was na response from Calcutta. The Emperor, being left to himself, was easily defeated by the Marathas outside Delhi (17 Dec.) and had to submit to their terms.[56]

The Marathas, after a short stay near Delhi, marched up to the bank of the Ganges opposite Ramghat, to attack Kora and Allahabad through Rohilkhand.[57] They offered to excuse the Rohillas the payment of the greater portion of the tribute of forty lakhs of rupees to the Emperor, in return for a safe passage through their territories.[58] The Rohillas kept the Marathas engaged in negotiations and informed Shuja about the Maratha offer to them. Shuja sent special messengers to the Rohillas, offering to release them from the obligation under the treaty of the previous year for the payment of forty lakhs of rupees, provided that they agreed to co-operate against the Marathas now.[59] He also informed Calcutta, about the direct threat to the safety of Kora and Allahabad now under their own control.[60]

The government at Calcutta sent Barker with instructions to protect Rohilkhand, after entering into a treaty with the Rohillas, "which shall fully indemnify the company for the additional charge and hazard," and on no account to engage in an offensive war beyond the river Ganges except for the protection of Kora.[61]

Shuja at the news of Barker's march was tempted to revive the old plan he had made with the Emperor. He wrote to Calcutta expressing his desire that "some decisive blow be struck to weaken the overgrown power of the Marathas." He also pointed out that this was the "most favourable season for undertaking it," and that if the English troops were permitted to accompany him to Delhi, "it would be a source of great advantage to the Company, since he would take upon himself the payment of the whole Brigade, and get the Company excused from the payment of the tribute to the Emperor" (Feb., 1773).[62]

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[53] Forrest-Selections of Letters and Despatches etc., vol. 1, pp. 60-61—Letter Hafiz to Governor; Sel. Com. Pro., 29 Oct., 1772—Letter Harper, 6 Oct.

[54] Sel. Com. Pro., 12 Dec., 1772—Letters Harper 12 & 17 Nov.

[55] Vth., Report of the Com. of Secrecy, 1781—Appendix No. 18—Letters from Shuja.

[56] Sel. Com. Pro., 12 Dec., 1772 & 7 Jan., 1773—Papers of Intelligence; Faiz Baksh, ff 86b-87a; Qissai Ahwal-i-Rohilla, f 57b.

[57] Letter, President and Sel. Com. to London, dated 31 March, 1773.

[58] Forrest-Selections etc., 1, p. 60—Letter Hafiz; Tawarikh-i-Afaghana, f 72b.

[59] Ibid.—Faiz Baksh, f 87a.

[60] Sel. Com. Pro., 18 Feb., 1773.

[61] Ibid.

On the arrival of Barker in his camp, Shuja prevailed upon him to march into Rohilkhand immediately, on the ground that the Rohillas "could not flatter themselves with security, while we remain within the prescribed line."[63] The Rohillas now marched towards Ramghat to prevent the Marathas from crossing into Rohilkhand.[64] But Barker's conduct in entering Rohilkhand in total disregard of the orders from Calcutta because of his privileged position as a member of the Council, and Shuja's persistent inability to understand the change of policy at Calcutta, made Warren Hastings lose his patience.[65] Accordingly, he now resorted to secret communication with Shuja.[66]

Shuja, while on his way to Ramghat, changed his plan quickly. On the 16th March, 1773, Barker reported to Hastings that Shuja, "enraged at the perfidy of the Rohillas who were marching up to join the Marathas, had reverted to the view that they ought to be expelled from Rohilkhand and that the country should be annexed to his own dominions;" that if the English would help him in executing the project, he would pay them fifty lakhs of rupees, and, by securing the Maratha possessions in the Doab for the Emperor, induce him to resign his claims to the tribute paid by the English and acknowledge Bengal, Behar and Orissa to be the property of the Company; that if Kora and Allahabad were transferred to him, he would give to the English in exchange all his own territories lying to the south of the Ganges except Benares; and that since the proposals in some measure would occasion a revolution he would like to have the agreement ratified in the presence of the President, at Benares, which might be done during the rains when the operations of the campaign were over. A letter to thte same purport was also sent by Shuja to the President on the same day.[67]

Henceforth, Shuja's main concern was to create a pretext by which a war could be declared against the Rohillas. A part of the Maratha army had crossed into Rohilkhand inspite of the opposition of the Rohillas. Shuja's plan, therefore, was to secure from Hafiz Rahmat Khan, on behalf of the Rohillas, a promise in the presence of Barker that he would be solely responsible for the fulfilment of the treaty for the payment of forty lakhs of rupees, for which Zabeta Khan was jointly responsible. For he gave Hafiz to understand that without such a promise the English would not take part in the defence of Rohilkhand, and also that he would not actually be required to fulfil his promise. Hafiz fell into the trap. He agreed to the proposals of Shuja in the presence of Barker. These were that the Rohillas would "immediately" pay forty lakhs of rupees for the protection of Rohilkhand, twenty lakhs out of which would be received by the Company, and that if the Rohillas did not pay the money, Shuja would pay rupees five lakhs to the Company for their part in the protection of Rohilkhand[68] (23 March).

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[62] Sel. Com. Pro., 30 March, 1773—Deliberations of the Committee.

[63] Ibid.—Letter Barker 6 March.

[64] Gulistan, f 168a; Faiz Baksh, f 87b; Tawarikh-i-Afaghana, f 72b.

[65] Hastings Papers, No. 29127—Letter Colebrooke, 26 March, 1773.

[66] Hastings Papers, No. 29133—Private letter, Barker to Hastings, 16 March, 1773.

[67] Vth. Report of the Com. of Secrecy, 1781—Appendix 21—Letter Shuja, 16 March, 1773.

The government at Calcutta took the whole proceedings in the light in which Shuja wanted them to understand. They approved of the plan formed for the protection of the Rohillas and the "stipulation made for the payment of the sum of forty lakhs by the Rohillas," but they did not "agree to the alternative proposal." Barker was instructed not to take part in the protection of Rohilkhand, in case of default on the part of the Rohillas.[69]

At the same meeting they decided that Shuja's request for an interview with the President "be complied with, for it would at this season be productive of great benefit to the Company's affairs." This exposes the conspiracy between Hastings and Shuja, for at this time there was no ground for the government at Calcutta to assume that protection had already been afforded to the Rohillas by the English army and that the Rohillas had not paid the stipulated forty lakhs of rupees, and were not likely to pay it either.[70]

Shuja inspite of the expulsion of the Marathas from Rohilkhand by the end of March, succeeded, in prevailing upon Barker not to raise the question of the payment of money by the Rohillas, on the ground that it "might cause a junction" between the Rohillas and the Marathas.[71] And it was not till after the Marathas had started their march to go back home, that Shuja asked Barker to demand the money from the Rohillas.[72] Hafiz refused to pay the money on the plea that Rohilkhand was protected by the English for the security of Shuja's dominion, and that no peace and security had been assured to the Rohillas against future Maratha attacks.[73] Barker continued to remonstrate with Hafiz for the fulfilment of his promise. Hence the Rohilla chief, afraid of displeasing the English, acknowledged the liability of the Rohillas but began to delay payment on various excuses.[74]

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[68] Sel. Com. Pro., 15 April, 1773—Letter Barker 24 March.

[69] Sel. Com. Pro., 15 April, 1773—Letter to Barker.

[70] Hastings Papers, No. 29137—Letter to Sullivan dated 11 Nov. 1772.—It shows that Hastings and not the Sel. Com. had the control of the foreign affairs.

[71] Sel. Com. Pro., 26 May, 1773—Letter Barker 13 April.

[72] Sel. Com. Pro., 28 May, 1773—Letter Barker 6 May.—The Marathas on receipt of a "peremptory order" from the Peshwa, for "immediate return," due to trouble at home, started for the Deccan, in the end of April.

The purpose of the Nawab of Oudh was, however, served. He wrote to the President about the success of his mission. The latter formally informed Shuja that "his proposals require much consideration and the previous ratification of a formal agreement," and asked him to apply for a meeting at once, for it was "uncertain when the President would again have an interval of leisure for such a journey" (April 22, 1773).[75] Accordingly Shuja asked for an interview at Benares, and hurried by expeditious marches towards Oudh, while Barker followed him at a leisurely pace.[76]

The negotiations between Shuja and Hastings started on the 19th Aug., 1773. Three other members of the Council were associated with Hastings, but he conducted the negotiations personally without the aid of even an interpreter. An agreement was finally arrived at both with regard to the Rohilla expedition and the Kora and Allahabad affair. But Shuja, afraid of Maratha help to the Rohillas, suddenly desired the conclusion of the Kora and Allahabad business only, on the plea that he would otherwise be taking greater pecuniary responsibility than he could fulfil. Hastings was furious and in his eagerness to force Shuja into the Rohilla enterprise, raised the sum to be paid by him for Kora and Allahabad from forty to fifty lakhs of rupees. But to his chagrin Shuja accepted the new terms (7th Sept.). Hastings, however, gave Shuja to understand that the Rohilla expedition "could with prudence be resumed, whenever he desired it."[77]

Immediately after Hastings' departure for Calcutta, Shuja received the news of Peshwa Narayan Rao's assasination, and of the division of the Marathas into two hostile camps, one supporting Raghunath Rao, the uncle of the late Peshwa, who was also implicated in his murder, and the other, the Court Party, upholding the claims of a supposed posthumous son of Narayan Rao. So he wrote to the President asking for the support of the English forces for the conquest of the Maratha possessions in the Doab. The President gave no reply.[78]

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[73] Sel. Com. Pro., 9 June, 1773—Letter Barker 10 May.

[74] Ibid.—Letter Barker 13 May.

[75] Vth. Report of the Com. of Secrecy, 1781—Appdx. 21.

[76] Sel. Com. Pro., 9 June, 1773—Letter Barker 20 May.

[77] Hastings Papers No. 29212—Benares Diary; Forrest-Selections, 1, pp. 54-55 & 150-51. Vth. Report of the Com. of Secrecy, 1781—Appdx. 23; Sel. Com. Pro., 26 Nov., 1773.

[78] Sel. Com. Pro., 19 Nov., 1773—Letter Shuja received on 23 Oct.

Meanwhile, news came that the Emperor had sent a large army under Najaf Khan, to be joined by his Mir Bakhshi Zabeta Khan, for bringing under subjection both the Jat and the Maratha possessions in the Doab, and that Hafiz was negotiating with the Emperor, offering to co-operate with the Imperial army in return for the previous Rohilla possessions in the Doab.[79] Shuja, therefore, marched up with his troops towards the Doab and offered his co-operation with the Imperial army, on the same terms as were proposed by the Rohillas. He also wrote to Calcutta inquiring whether the offer of help of the English forces regarding the Rohilla enterprise on terms verbally agreed upon at Benares, still held good.[80]

Shuja's terms were accepted by the Emperor, and he joined the Imperial army at Agra, after the subjugation of the Maratha territories granted to him.[81] He then sent another proposal to the Emperor, offering him half of the conquered territories, if he joined him in the invasion of Rohilkhand,[82] and marched towards Farrukhabad. He made the Bangash Nawab virtually dependent on him, by forcing him to sign a treaty of alliance.[83] He also wrote to Zabeta Khan, offering to spare him his part of the territories in Rohilkhand (Najibgar etc.), as a price for his co-operation in the present enterprise.[84] Zabeta, accordingly, came up to Koriaganj, where Shuja was awaiting the arrival of the Emperor who had started from Delhi.[85]

The promised help to Shuja from Warren Hastings was very late in coming.[86] The President carried his point in the Select Committee but he had great difficulties to surmount in the Council. After a debate lasting for three days it was decided that the proposed expedition "be avoided," and that "sensible of the embarrassment the President is under," the letter to Shuja, "specially prepared by the President," which is "calculated to make the Wazir abandon his present idea, be approved." This letter contained only two alterations in the verbal settlement reached at Benares. Firstly, "forty lakhs of rupees shall be paid by the Wazir, immediately on the dismissal of the Brigade employed in the Rohilla expedition," instead of payment in monthly instalments of four lakhs of rupees. Secondly, "the sum shall be considered due whenever the whole or half of the country of the Rohillas" should come into Shuja's possession or "an accommodation should have taken place with the Rohillas," in place of the original stipulation, namely that, "should any accident oblige the Company's forces to retire from the Rohilla country and prevent the Wazir from obtaining possession of it, the said forty lakhs shall not be demanded."[87] There was no question of the rejection of this offer by Shuja, for, he never hesitated about the Rohilla expedition on the ground of pecuniary difficulties.

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[79] Ain i-Alam Shahi, 11, ff 17b-27b; Sel. Com. Pro., 19 Nov., 1773—Letter Shuja, received on 18 November.

[80] Sel. Com. Pro., 19 Nov., 1773—Letter Shuja received on 18 Nov.

[81] Sel. Com. Pro., 10 Feb., 1774—Letter Shuja.

[82] Sel. Com. Pro., 2 June, 1774—Letter Champion 16 May; Vth. Report —Appdx. 27.

[83] Faiz Baksh, f 93a.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Sel. Com. Pro., 18 April, 1774—Letter Champion 26 March, Letter Middleton 3 April.

[86] Sel. Com. Pro., 10 Feb., 1774—Letter Shuja.—It refers to a private letter received by Shuja from Hastings and shows that the alliance with the Emperor was done according to the secret instructions of Hastings.

Shuja, in reply to the President's letter, requested the English government to keep their forces ready to march up immediately on his requisition for the defence of his own dominion[88] (Dec., 1773). This answer served a double purpose. It implied an indirect refusal of the terms offered to him about the Rohilla expedition, and thus saved the face of the President at Calcutta. It also prevented all chances of delay in getting English help for the Rohilla expedition, about which he had already made up him mind. So when Shuja wrote to Calcutta accepting the terms for the Rohilla expedition (Jan., 1774), the Brigade for the Rohilla expedition was immediately sent up under Col. Champion[89] (Feb. 1774).

Shuja crossed over to Oudh, and after joining the English Brigade marched towards Rohilkhand (April). Hafiz, along with all the other Rohilla chiefs, came up to Jalalabad and offered to come to terms with Shuja by paying him the forty lakhs of rupees in respect of which an ultimatum had just been sent to them.[90] But Champion, on behalf of Shuja, informed them that "for having afforded the Rohilla tribe aid and assistance for three years, the sum of two crores of rupees have been expended," and that if they "think proper," they should "write distinctly" what they were able to pay, although it was "advisable that they should comply with the Nawab's demands"[91] (19th Apr.). The Rohillas pleaded their inability to pay the sum demanded, and suggested that "a trusty accountant should be sent, on the part of the Wazir, to ascertain their exact financial condition."[92] Shuja sent no reply to the Rohilla offer and invaded Rohilkhand.

A battle was fought at Miranpur Kattra. The Rohillas were overpowered by the English army. Hafiz was killed in the action and his sons surrendered voluntarily. Muhibbullah Khan and Fatehullah Khan, the sons of Dundi Khan, whom Shuja had secretly won over, by promising to spare them their own possessions, stayed on at Bisauli. But the rest of the Rohillas rallied under the leadership of Faizullah Khan and entrenched themselves at Laldang.[93]

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[87] Sel. Com. Pro., 3 Feb., 1774—Letter Shuja to the President; Forrest, 1, p. 81; Vth. Report of the Com. of Secrecy, 1781—Appdx. 23.

[88] Sel. Com. Pro., 13 Jan., 1774—Letter Shuja received 10 Jan.

[89] Sel. Com. Pro., 3 Feb., 1774—Letter Shuja to President.

[90] Secret Com. Pro., 2 Jan., 1775—Letter Hafiz received on 12 April, 1774.

[91] Sec. Com. Pro., 2 Jan., 1775—Reply Champion to Hafiz.

[92] Ibid.—Letters Hafiz received on 19 & 22 April.

Shuja did not keep his word with Muhibbullah Khan and Fatehullah Khan and imprisoned them.[94] He did not fulfil his agreement with the Emperor on the pretext that the latter had sent his army under Najaf Khan, instead of coming up in person, although the Emperor had actually started for Shuja's camp and was unable to join him due to illness.[95] He did not even honour his pledge to Zabeta Khan and occupied his possessions in Rohilkhand.[96]

Before Shuja could carry Laldang he was down with a fatal disease. Besides, he was afraid of an attack by the dissatisfied Emperor who had actually started from Delhi and by Zabeta Khan with the aid of the Marathas.[97] He therefore, came to an arrangement with Faizullah Khan, by the famous treaty of Laldang (7th Oct., 1774). Faizullah was given a jagir of the present state of Rampur and the rest of Rohilkhand was ceded to Oudh. Shuja hurried back from Rohilkhand, only to reach home and die on the 26th January, 1775.

Thus passed away one of the cleverest diplomats of the age. He was a man gifted with an exceptionally fertile brain. Highly ambitious, he was constantly busy formulating plans to better his own position. Often, due to unforeseen circumstances, he found himself in awkward situations, but he always had the presence of mind to act quickly and thus get himself out of the muddle. Sometimes, he had to face disgrace and disaster, but he never accepted his fate lying down. Only on one occasion he got out of the difficulty by sheer luck (1765). He was no doubt outwitted by the superb diplomatic skill of Najib Khan. But after Najib's death, he played his game exceedingly well, and was very unfortunate not to have achieved success earlier than 1774. He had certainly no scruples in adopting questionable means, and was guilty of treachery and falsehood. But these were also the frailties common to all the great despots of the Medieval age. The wily Shuja was, however, unable to befool the government at Calcutta as is generally supposed. Clive had only made a convenience of Shuja to give effect to his own policy; Cartier knew him very well and thwarted his early plans about Rohilkhand; and Hastings was an accomplice in his dirty game.

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93. Sel. Com. Pro., 9 May, 1774—Letters Champion 24 April & 2 May; Ahwal-i-Rohilla, f 58b; Akhbar-i-Hasan (Br. Mus. Ms.), f 48a; Faiz Baksh, ff 98b-99b; Afaghana, f 74a.

94. Sel. Com. Pro., 1 & 14 July, 1774—Letter Champion 14 June, Letter Middleton 17 June.

95. Sel. Com. Pro., 14 July, 1774.—No clause in the treaty regarding Emp. joining in person.

96. Sel. Com. Pro., 2 June, 1774—Letter Champion 21 May; Sarkar—I. H. Q., 1935, p. 646-47.

97. Sel. Com. Pro., 14 Feb., 1775—Letter Champion to the Board.

98. Sel. Com. Pro., 31 Oct., 1774—True copies of the Treaty.

A FRAGMENT OF THE KĀŚYAPA-SAṂHITĀ IN CHINESE

By PRABODH CHANDRA BAGCHI

A short medical treatise entitled *Kia-ye sien jen shuo yi niu jen king* (=Kāśyapa-ṛṣi-prokta-strīcikitsā-sūtra) has been preserved in Chinese translation and is included in the Tripiṭaka (Nanjio, 883; Hobogirin 1385; Bagchi—Le Canon Bouddhique II, p. 589). The translation is due to an Indian scholar who is known in Chinese either as Fa-t'ien (Dharmadeva) or as Fa-hien (Dharmabhadra). Dharmabhadra was a Buddhist monk of the Nālandā monastery. He went to China in 973 A.D. and was much honoured by the Song Emperor. He lived till 1001 A.D. He was very active during his long sojourn in China and translated 118 works into Chinese. Another medical treatise translated by him is the *Kumāra-tantra* of Rāvaṇa which has been studied and translated by me in another article (*Indian Culture, VII,* pp. 269ff.). The **Strīcikitsā* (*sūtra*) of Kāśyapa was translated by Fa-t'ien sometime between 982 and 1001 A.D.

In my article on the *Kumāra-tantra* of Rāvaṇa I pointed out its affinity with a newly published medical text entitled *Kāśyapa-saṁhitā.* The **Strī-cikitsā-Sūtra* translated by Fa-hien also bears the name of sage Kāśyapa and seems to have been connected with the school to which the Kāśyapa-saṃhitā belonged. The **Strī-cikitsā* is in the form of an interlocution between the sage Ji-p'o-kia (=Jīvaka) and the sage Kia-ye (=Kāśyapa). Jīvaka felt great pity for those women who suffer from various kinds of troubles during the period of pregnancy and went to Kāśyapa "a great teacher possessed of vast knowledge" to ascertain the method of their treatment. At his request Kāśyapa narrated the method of treating the diseases of pregnant women according to the various stages of their pregnancy. The *Kāśyapa-saṃhitā* is also in the form of an interlocution between Jīvaka and Kāśyapa. Although the text is mutilated and incomplete there are many indications which clearly bring out this form of the presentation; cf. for example the beginning of the *Lehādhyāya* (Sūtrasthāna). Jīvaka asks :—

.... ।

.... ॥

किंवा लेहयितव्यं च किंवा लेहितलक्षणम् ।
अतिलेहितदोषाः के के च दोषा अलेहिते ॥

मन्दलीढ़स्य किं रूपं गुणदोषाश्च तत्र के ।
के लेहनोद्भवा रोगाः कश्च तेषामुपक्रमः ॥
एतन्मे भगवन् सर्वं वक्तुमर्हसि तत्त्वतः ।
सुखं दुःखं हि बालानां दृश्यते लेहनाश्रयम् ॥
इति पृष्टो महाभागः कश्यपो लोकपूजितः ।
प्रश्नं प्रोवाच निखिलं प्रजानां हितकाम्यया ॥

[Jīvaka asks Kaśyapa]......"What is fit for licking? What are the things to be licked? What are the evil effects of over-licking? What is bad in not licking? What are the things difficult to lick and what are their bad and good effects? What are the diseases that arise from licking? How do they arise? Bhagavan, you should tell me all about it. It seems that the health and the disease of children depend on licking. The great sage Kaśyapa, venerated by all, being thus requested replied to the question thus for the good of all beings."

A comparison of this form of the narration of the *Kāśyapa-saṁhitā* with the commencement of the **Strīcikitsā-sūtra* of Kāśyapa of which I have given a translation below will clearly show that the two texts are very closely connected. I believe that the **Strī-cikitsā* is only an extract from the Kāśyapa-saṁhitā. That there is room for such supposition will be clear from a further examination of the *Kāśyapa-saṁhitā*.

About the authorship of the Kāśyapa-saṁhitā the text itself records the following tradition (*Kalpasthāna*, p. 191). "Kaśyapa, being appointed by Brahmā, compiled this Tantra for the good of mankind. Jīvaka, the son of Ṛcika, received this great Tantra and summarised it. Jīvaka later on came to be known as Vṛddha-Jīvaka. The Tantra was then preserved by Anāyāsa Yakṣa who narrated it later to Vātsya, a descendant of Vṛddha-Jīvaka. Vātsya revised and edited the work." Hence the work is known under both the names: *Kāśyapa-saṁhitā* and *Vṛddha-jīvakīyaṁ Tantram*.

The Rājaguru Hemrāj Śarmā in his learned introduction to the *Kāśyapa-saṁhitā* has compared the work with other medical treatises and come to the conclusion that the treatment of subjects in the present work is similar to that in the *Caraka-saṁhitā* and the *Bheḍa-tantra*. The Śuśruta differs from all other works in this respect.

		Kāśyapa	Caraka	Bheḍa
Sūtrasthāna,	Chaps.	30	30	30
Nidāna°	,,	8	8	8
Vimāna°	,,	8	8	8

		Kāśyapa	Caraka	Bheḍa
Śārīra°	,,	8	8	8
Indriya°	,,	12	12	12
Cikitsā°	,,	30	30	30
Siddhi°	,,	12	12	9 (?)
Kalpa°	,,	12	12	8 (?)

The Kāśyapa-saṁhitā has besides a supplement (*Khila*) which is its 9th section. This is evidently a later addition and contains many repetitions of subjects treated in the main body of the work.

The complete text of the *Kāśyapa-saṁhita* has not yet been discovered. The unique manuscript from which the text has been edited was fragmentary and hence long portions of the text are missing. A considerable portion of the *Cikitsādhyāya* is missing (see pp. 62-63). In the chapter on *Garbhiṇī-cikitsādhyāya* (p. 63) the treatment of certain diseases of pregnant women have been described, such as *pravāhikā, kāmalā, śūla, ūrdhvanīla, hikkāśvāsa* etc. Something must have been said on the treatment of miscarriage in this connection, but that portion is missing.

The **Strīcikitsā* of Kāśyapa however is more concerned with pre-natal care than with regular medical treatment. This text shows considerable agreement with the 31st chapter of the 8th section of the *Śārīrasthāna* of Caraka. In fact the whole of the 8th section of *Śārīrasthāna* deals with pre-natal and post-natal care (*Jātisūtrīyam Śārīram*),—conception, the diet of a pregnant woman, the causes of miscarriage, preventive measures prescribed month by month. As a general method of treatment Caraka prescribes for the preservation of the foetus the decoction of the following drugs with milk or ghee—*aindrī, brāhmī, śatavīrya, sahasra-vīrya, amogha, avyathā, śivā, balā ariṣṭa, vātyapuṣpī, viśvakasenā* and *kāntā*. It is also recommended that the expectant mother should rub her body daily with an ointment of these drugs and bathe in the water in which these drugs have been boiled (*Śārīra, VIII,* 21).

Caraka then gives the following prescription to be followed by pregnant women month by month (ibid. viii, 31). "In the *first* month the diet should mainly consist of medicated milk which has been properly boiled and cooled and given in proper measure. Her principal meals should consist of such items as may be easily assimilated. In the *second* month her diet principally should consist of milk boiled with the group of drugs called sweets (*Kākolī* etc.). In the *third* month the milk is to be mixed with ghee and honey. In the *fourth* month two *tolās* of cheese should be given. In the *fifth* month the quantity of ghee should be increased. In the *sixth* and seventh months ghee should be boiled with the drugs, called sweets (*Kākolī* etc.). In the *seventh* month is to be performed the *dohada* ceremony. The general food should be given in small measures, should consist of such items as are regarded sweet and alleviative of wind and should contain oil and salts as little as possible. In the *eighth* month she should be given daily, at proper intervals, a drink prepared of milk, barley gruel (*yavāgu*), and ghee boiled together. In the *ninth* month she should have as an additional measure an enema of oil in which the drugs, called sweets (*Kākolī* etc.) are boiled."

Caraka also gives the method of treatment in case the chest is affected which is usual in the seventh month of pregnancy. He prescribes first of all a decoction of *badara* mixed with cheese and boiled with the drugs called sweets (*Kākolī* etc.). For application on the affected parts he recommends a paste of *candana* and *mṛṇāla,* or of *śirīṣa, dhātakī, sarṣapa* and liquorice, or of *kuṭaja, arjjaka* seeds, *musta* and turmeric or of *nimba, kola, surasā* and *mañjiṣṭhā* or an oil medicated with the leaves of *karavīra.* For washing he recommends an infusion of *triphala* mixed with the blood of a small deer (*pṛṣat*) and of a hare and also water boiled with *mālatī* and liquorice.

There is also a similar chapter in the *Śārīrasthāna* of the *Kāśyapa-saṁhitā* which is equally called *Jātisūtriya* (pp. 52 ff.). This is also, as in Caraka, the last and the 8th chapter of the *Śārīrasthāna.* The first portion of the chapter shows a general agreement with the corresponding chapter of Caraka, but its middle portion where we should have expected the more specific prescriptions for the pregnant woman according to the various stages of pregnancy is lost. One complete palm-leaf (the 85th folio) is missing. This seems to have contained the matter now found in the **Strī-cikitsā* of Kāśyapa. The introductory portion of the **Strī-cikitsā* dealing with the meeting of Jīvaka and Kaśyapa might not have been there, but the remaining portion of the text giving prescription, month by month, seems to have been taken from this chapter of the Kāśyapa-saṁhitā.

In the supplement (*Khilasthāna*) of the *Kāśyapa-saṁhitā* there is a chapter called *Antarvatnīcikitsā* (chap. x) which contains similar information on the treatment of pregnant women. As the supplement is a sort of later elaboration of the matter given in the main text it gives an idea of the missing portion of the chapter of *Jātisūtrīya* of the *Kāśyapa-saṁhitā.* The 10th chapter of the supplement says that regular treatment of pregnant women should be undertaken from the fourth month of pregnancy (मासाच्चतुर्थात् प्रभृति भिषग्भेषजमाचरेत् śl. 11). This method of treatment is given in ślokas 147 ff.

चतुर्थे मासि नारीणामिदं कुर्याच्चिकित्सितम् ॥ १४७ ॥
सर्पिर्भिरन्नपानैर्वा क्षीरेणेक्षुरसेन वा ।
वासयेत् फलयुक्तेन यथावदिति कश्यपः ॥ १४८ ॥
चतुरंगुलसिद्धेन रसेन पयसाऽपि वा ।
विरेचयेत्तु मतिमान् य इच्छेत् सुखमात्मनः ॥ १४९ ॥
पूतीकपत्रैर्भृष्टैर्वा पुष्पैर्वाऽस्थ्यालकस्य वा ।
अम्लां यवागूं प्रपिबेन्नातिवेगा यथा भवेत् ॥ १५० ॥
एरण्डपत्रं क्षीरेण वातरोगान्विता पिबेत् ।
वातमूत्रविरोधे तु शूले वाऽपि समुत्थिते ॥ १५१ ॥
पञ्चमे मासि गर्भिण्या व्यक्ताम्लवणं ततः ।
आस्थापनं हितं नार्या मधुरं चानुवासनम् ॥ १५२ ॥
ग्रन्थीनां पीड़कानां च शोथे चैव विशाम्पते ।
रोहिण्यां विद्रधौ वाऽपि षष्ठमासे विशेषतः ।
यथाम्लं भेषजं कुर्याद्दारुणं शास्त्रपारगः ॥ १५३ ॥
पीनमांसोपशमनं क्षारकर्माग्निकर्म च ।
भग्नास्थिश्लेषणं चैव शस्त्रकर्म तथैव च ॥ १५४ ॥
सप्तमे मासि नारीणां सर्वमेतत् प्रयोजयेत् ।

The *Bheḍa-saṁhitā*, which, we have seen, follows the same tradition as that of Caraka, has also in its extant South Indian version a chapter called *Jātisūtrīyam*, (which is the chapter viii of its *Śārīrasthāna*). It is an abridged version, but still it agrees with the corresponding passages of the Carakasaṁhitā and the Kāśyapa-saṁhitā (specially the supplement). It may be quoted here for a comparison with other texts–

चतुर्थे खलु मासे प्रतिविहिते क्षीरे नवनीतं प्राश्नीयात् । पञ्चमे क्षीरयवागूः । षष्ठे क्षीरसर्पिः, सप्तमे तु खलु मासे गर्भप्रपीड़िता पित्तश्माणो प्राप्य विदह्यमाना कण्डुं जनयन्ति । तेन चिक्किसानि जायन्ते । स्त्रीणां त्रिफलचूर्णं शशरुधिरेण पिष्ट्वा तेनास्याः स्तनान्यवलेपयेत् । अष्टमे तु खलु मासे प्रतिविहिते सति सूतिकागारं सम्यक् प्रागुद्वारमुदगुद्वारं वा कारयेत् तिन्दुकपलाशाश्वत्थैः ॥ (*Bheḍasaṁhitā*, p. 95).

Thus a comparison of the mutilated _Jātisūtrīyam_ section of the Kāśyapa-saṁhitā with the corresponding chapters of the Carakasaṁhitā, the Bheḍasaṁhitā and the Khilasthānam of the Kāśyapa-saṁhitā itself shows that the short treatise in Chinese translation, the *_Strīcikitsā_ of Kāśyapa, formed a part of the _Jātisūtrīyam_ of the Kāśyapa-saṁhitā. It must have been based on that portion of the _Jātisūtrīyam_ which is now lost.

The two medical treatises translated by Fa-t'ien (Dharmadeva), a monk of Nālandā—the _Kumāra-tantra_ of Rāvaṇa and the *_Strīcikitsā_ of Kāśyapa bear a Buddhist stamp. The _Kumāra-tantra,_ as we have said in another article (_Indian Culture, VII,_ pp. 269 ff.). is of Buddhist inspiration. Rāvaṇa is a Yakṣa, and it is only in Buddhism that the Yakṣas have been considered as beneficent beings. The _Kāśyapa-saṁhitā,_ of which *_Strīcikitsā_ is a part, is also said to have been handed down by another Yakṣa—Yakṣa Anāyāsa, who is invoked in the Mahāmāyūrī (S. Lévi, _Le Catalogue Géographique des Yakṣa,_ J. As. 1915). Rāvaṇa is the Yakṣa protector of the country of Ramaṭha in North-Western India, while Anāyāsa is the Yakṣa protector of the city of Kauśāmbī. The _Kāśyapa-saṁhitā_ like the *_Strī-cikitsā_ has another Buddhist association. Its author was Jīvaka. The sage Kāśyapa communicated it to Jīvaka who recorded it and gave publicity to it for the good of humanity. Jīvaka is well-known in the Buddhist texts as a great authority on medicine. He was a contemporary of Buddha and was educated in medical science at Takṣaśilā under Ātreya. For a detailed study on Jīvaka, his rôle as a medical authority, his association with Buddha etc., see _The History of Indian Medicine_ by G. N. Mukherji, vol. iii, pp. 681 ff.

The contents of the *_Strī-cikitsā_ of Kāśyapa may now be discussed and compared with prescriptions in other sources. It will be seen that the prescription given in the *_Strī-cikitsā_ is much more detailed than that in other sources. This is probably because the _Kāśyapa-saṁhitā_ with which the *_Strī-cikitsā_ is directly connected is specially a _Kaumārabhṛtyam_ and as such is more concerned with the diseases of expectant mothers and children.

First month (of pregnancy).—The medicine prescribed is a powder of _candana_ scent and _utpala_ flower mixed with milk and milk-sugar. _Ju-t'ang_[1] literally means 'milk-sugar' but I do not know what kind of sugar it really is. Caraka prescribes only milk properly boiled and cooled.

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(1) 乳糖

Second month.—The medicine prescribed is the powder of blue utpala flower, root of *ku-mu-na* (kumuda), *ling-kio* and *kie-si-lu-kia,* mixed with milk. *Ling-kio*[2] is supposed to be *Gokṣuraka* —tribulus lanuginosus in Mahāvyutpatti (Sakaki)—5782 (ii). But it is really *śṛṅgāṭaka*—trapa bicornis or a kind of water caltrops. *Kie-si-lu-kia*[3] is *kaśeruka.* It is a kind of root which when taken helps the regular secretion of biles and cools the system (*rakta-pitta-praśmanatvaṁ, śītatvaṁ, dāhaśramāpahatvañca*—cf. Śabdakalpa-druma). Caraka prescribes for the second month—'milk boiled with drugs called sweets (*madhura*)'. The group of these drugs, according to the commentary, begins with *Kākolī.* Kākolī, however is prescribed here from the third month.

Third month.—The medicine prescribed is equal portions of *kia-kiu-lei, ch'e-lo kia-kiu-lei* and the root of *pi-ma* rubbed and mixed with milk, milk sugar and honey. *Kia-kiu-lei*[4] and *ch'e-lo-kia-kiu-lei*[5] are *kākolī* and *kṣīra-kākolī.* *Kākolī* is described as a medical plant with aromatic berries—Luvunga Scandens. *Kṣīra-kākolī* is described as a "root from the Himalayas yielding a milky juice"—Trittiliria Stracheyi (Woolner—J.R.A.S., 1925, p. 631). *Pi-ma*[6] is castor oil plant, Sanskrit *eraṇḍa*—Ricinus Communis. Caraka prescribes for the 3rd month only 'milk mixed with ghee and honey.'

Fourth month.—The medicine prescribed is the equal proportion of the root of *tsi-li*[7] its branch and leaf, utpala flower and its stalk, rubbed and mixed with milk. *Tsi-li* is Tribulus terrestris. In the *Fan yu tsa ming* (Bagchi, *Deux Lexiques,* 1003) *Tsi-li* is *kokṣura* (*gokṣura*). Caraka and Bheḍa prescribe for the fourth month only cheese and milk. But the supplementary section of the Kāśyapa-saṁhitā already referred to gives a more detailed prescription for the fourth month according to the nature of the troubles,—*ghee,* milk, juice of sugarcane, leaf of castor oil plant boiled in milk etc.

Fifth month.—The medicine prescribed is the powder of equal proportion of the root of gourd plant (*hu tseu*[8]), and utpala flower mixed with grape-juice (*p'u-t'ao che*[9]), milk and milk-sugar. Caraka prescribes simply 'milk and ghee,' while Bheḍa only barley-gruel (yavāgū) and milk. *Hu tseu* is literally 'gourd plant,' but it is not clear what sort of gourd it is. *P'u-t'ao* literally means 'grape juice'—*drākṣā-pāṇaka* (Mahāvyutpatti 5717-36). *P'u-t'ao* has been

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(2) 蔆角 (3) 羯細嚕迦 (4) 迦俱嚟 (5) 叱囉…

(6) 蓖麻 (7) 蒺蔾 (8) 瓠子 (9) 蒲萄

proved by Laufer (*Sino-Iranica,* p. 225) to be a borrowed Iranian word; *p'u-t'ao* (**bu-daw*)has been restored by him in its old Iranian form **budāwa* or **buδawa* formed with a suffix *wa* or *awa,* from a stem *buda* which may be connected with new Persian *bāda* "wine"—probably a dialectal form of Avestan *maδav,* "wine from berries." In the present case however *p'u-t'ao che* means "fresh grape juice" and not a variety of grape wine.

Sixth month.—The medicine prescribed is equal portions of *pi-o-lo, mo-ti-kia-lo-jo* and *sa-ki-t'o-fu* herbs rubbed and boiled in milk mixed with milk-sugar and honey. *Pi-o-lo*[10] is *piyāla, mo-ti-kia-lo-jo*[11] is probably a wrong transcription for *mātuluṅga* which is a kind of citron plant, and *sa-ki (hi)-lo-fu* is *sahetava.* The properties of *piyāla* are given as—*madhuratvam, snigdhatvam, vātapittanāśitvam* etc., and the properties of *mātuluṅga* are—*hṛdyatvam, amlatvam, laghutvam, agnidīpatvam* etc. (Śabdakalpadruma). Caraka prescribes for the sixth month the drugs called sweets—*Kākolī* etc. boiled in ghee, whereas Bheḍa prescribes ghee and milk only.

Seventh month.—The medicine prescribed is pills made with the powder of *tsi-li*—tribulus terrestris—branch and leaf mixed with milk-sugar and honey, to be taken with meat soup. Caraka prescribes for general treatment the same medicine as for the previous month. Bheḍa follows him. For the skin infection which is usual in the 7th month Caraka makes an elaborate prescription; our text however does not refer to it.

Eighth month.—The medicine prescribed is equal portions of *san-han-ngo*[12] lotus flower, blue utpala flower and tribulus terrestris, rubbed and mixed with milk, milk-sugar and honey. I have not been able to find out what plant *san-han-ngo* is. For the eighth month Caraka prescribes a drink made of ghee, barley gruel and milk mixed together.

Ninth month.—The medicine prescribed is equal portions of the roots of *pi-ma*—castor oil plant, *kia-ku-lei—kākolī, she-lo-po-han-ni*[13]—Śārapāhanī (?), *mei-li-han-ti*[14] (*Bṛhatī ?*) rubbed and boiled in milk. I have not been able to find out what *she-lo-po-han-ni* is. The last *mei-li-han-ti* seems to be *Bṛhatī* which is according to some sources the same as *kaṇṭakārī.* Its properties

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(10) 閉阿羅 (11) 摩地迦羅惹 (12) 三鋡誐

(13) 舍羅鉢赧尼 (14) 没哩賀底

are given as—*tiktatvam, uṣṇatvam, vāta-jvarārocakāmakāśvāsa-hṛd-roganāśitvam* (see Śabdakalpadruma). Caraka prescribes only for outer use 'oil in which kākolī has been boiled.'

Tenth month.—The medicine prescribed is equal portions of *liu teu*[15] beans, and utpala flower, rubbed and boiled in milk mixed with milk-sugar and honey. Caraka and other sources do not give any prescription for the 10th, 11th and 12th months, as these stages of pregnancy are uncommon. Bheḍa stops with the eighth month and recommends that the labour room should be made ready in the 8th month. I have not been able to find out what kind of beans was *liu teu.*

Eleventh month.—The medicine prescribed is equal portions of blue utpala flower, *sha-lu-kang*[16] (*śāluka*) plant, lotus flower and lotus stalk, rubbed in cold water and boiled in milk mixed with milk-sugar. *Sha-lu-kang* is *Śāluka*—a plant like the lotus which grows in water. There is no prescription for the eleventh month in other sources.

Twelfth month.—The medicine prescribed is equal portions of *kia-kiu-lei* (*kākolī*), *ch'e-lo-kia-kiu-lei* (*kṣīra-kākolī*), liquorice (*kan ts'ao*)[17] and utpala flower ground and boiled in milk. *Kan-ts'ao* is liquorice—Skt. *yaṣṭi-madhu.*

迦葉仙人說醫女人經

[*Kāśyaparṣiprokta-strīcikitsā-sūtra*]—"The sūtra on curing women spoken by the sage Kāśyapa."—

Once upon a time the sage Jīvaka was worried by this thought: In the world all beings get their body from women. The women at first get pregnant for full ten months and some even longer for twelve months and then they give birth (to the child). In this period they suffer from sickness which afflicts them with pain. I shall now ask the teachers about the means of getting the medicine for curing their diseases. On thinking thus he went to see the teacher, the sage Kāśyapa. He prostrated himself before the teacher and after saluting him said—The great teacher Kāśyapa is possessed of vast knowledge. I want to ask him a question and pray him to listen to me and reply. The sage Kāśyapa replied: What do you want to ask me? Then the sage Jīvaka said: The woman remains pregnant for ten months or twelve months. When the days are completed she gives birth to the child.

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(15) 菉豆 (16) 娑路剛 (17) 甘草

Why do they suffer from diseases in this period for which the foetus gets shaky and uneasy. Some get spoilt whereas others suffer from unlimited pain. My teacher is all-knowing. I request him to speak on the treatment of these diseases and on the medicine to cure them. When he had finished he waited quietly to listen (to the reply).

Then the sage Kāśyapa said to the sage Jīvaka: The women, when pregnant, do not know how to protect themselves. So the foetus gets unsteady. I shall now briefly speak, month by month, on the medicine for protecting it.

If the foetus gets unsteady in the first month of pregnancy the woman should take the *chen-tan* (*candana*) scent, the lotus flower, and the *yu-po-lo* (utpala) flower, put them in water and grind them. She should then mix it with milk and the milk-sugar boiled together. This medicine, if taken when tepid, can save the foetus from all harm and pain and make it steady in the first month of pregnancy.

He then told Jīvaka: If in the second month of pregnancy the foetus gets unsteady then take the blue utpala flower, the root of the *kiu-mu-na* (*kumuda*), water-caltrops (*ling kio*), *kie-si-lu-kia* (*kaśeruka?*). Grind equal portions of these herbs into powder, mix the powder with milk and boil it. It should be taken when cool. This medicine can keep the foetus in its place, remove the pain and keep the pregnant woman in good condition.

If in the third month of pregnancy the foetus gets unsteady then take equal portions of *kia-kiu-lei* (*kākolī*), *ch'e-lo kia-kiu-lei* (*kṣīra-kākolī*) and the root of *pi-ma*; rub them in water and make them exceedingly fine, put them in milk and boil it well. Put some milk-sugar and honey in it, mix up and take it when cool. This medicine can keep the foetus in its place, remove pain and fear and keep the pregnant woman in good condition.

If in the fourth month of pregnancy the foetus gets unsteady then take the root of the *tribulus terrestris* (*tsi-li*), take also its branch and leaf, utpala flower and its stalk, take equal portion of each, rub them in water and make them exceedingly fine, put them in milk and boil. Give it when cool. This medicine can keep the foetus in its place, remove pain and fear and keep the pregnant woman in good condition.

If in the fifth month of pregnancy the foetus gets unsteady take the root of the gourd plant (*hu-tseu*), the utpala flower, equal portion of each, grind them and make them fine, mix them with grape juice (*p'u-t'ao*), milk, and milk-sugar, boil them, and give it when cool. This medicine can keep the foetus in its place, remove pain and fear and keep the pregnant woman in good condition.

If in the sixth month of pregnancy the foetus gets unsteady then take *pi-o-lo* (*piyāla*), *mo-ti-kia-lo-jo* (*mātuluṅga?*), *sa-hi-to-fu* (*sahetava?*) herbs, equal portion of each, rub them in water and make them extremely fine, boil them in milk, and then put some milk-sugar and honey in it. Give it when cool. This medicine can keep the foetus in its place, remove pain and fear and keep the pregnant woman in good condition.

If in the seventh month of pregnancy the foetus gets unsteady then take the *tribulus terrestris,* its branch, leaf and root, grind them into powder, put some milk-sugar and honey and make pills. Give each pill with meat soups. It may be taken also as food with the meat soup or with the soup of green beans. Whether taken as medicine or food it can keep the foetus in its place, remove pain and fear and keep the pregnant woman in good condition.

If in the eighth month of pregnancy the foetus gets unsteady then take *san han-ngo* (medicine), lotus flower, blue utpala flower and *tribulus terrestris,* equal portion of each, rub them in cold water and make them extremely fine, mix them with milk, sugar and honey, boil them and give it when cool. This medicine can keep the foetus in its place, remove pain and fear and keep the pregnant woman in good condition.

If in the ninth month of pregnancy the foetus gets unsteady then take the root of *pi-ma* (castor oil plant), *kia-kiu-lei* (*kākolī*), *she-lo-po-han-ni* (*Śārapā ?*) herb and *mei-li-han ti* (*bṛhatī*) herb, equal portion of each, rub them in cold water and make exceedingly fine, put them in milk and boil. Give when cool. This medicine can keep the foetus in its place, remove pain and fear and keep the pregnant woman in good condition.

If in the tenth month of pregnancy the foetus gets unsteady then take green beans (*liu teu*) and utpala flower, equal portion of each, mix them with water, rub them extremely fine, put some milk-sugar and honey in them and boil them in milk. Give it when cool. This medicine can keep the foetus in its place, remove pain and fear and keep the pregnant woman in good condition.

If in the eleventh month of pregnancy the foetus gets unsteady then take blue utpala flower, *sha-lu-kang* (*Śāluka*) herb, lotus flower and stalk, equal portion of each, rub them in cold water and make them extremely fine, mix them with milk, put some milk-sugar in it and boil. Give one dose of it when cool. This medicine can keep the foetus in its place, remove pain and fear and keep the pregnant woman in good condition.

If in the twelfth month of pregnancy the foetus gets unsteady, then take *kia-kiu-lei* (*kākolī*), *ch'e-lo kia-kiu-lei* (*kṣīra-kākolī*) herbs, liquorice (*kan-ts'ao, yaṣṭimadhu*), and utpala flower, equal portion of each, grind them and make them fine, rub them in water and boil in milk. Give one dose of it when cool. This medicine can keep the pregnant woman in good condition.

When Jīvaka Ṛṣi had heard the master on this method of treating pregnant women he became exceedingly happy, bowed unto him and went away.

Cf. *Carakasaṃhitā, Śārīra° VIII*· 31

परमतो निर्विकारमाप्याय्यमानस्य गर्भस्य मासे मासे कर्मोपदेक्ष्यामः-प्रथमे मासे शङ्कित् चेद्-गर्भमापन्ना, क्षीरमनुपस्कृतं मात्रावच्छीतं काले काले पिबेदन्तर्वत्नी, सात्म्यमेव च पुनर्भोजनं सायं प्रातश्च भुञ्जीत । द्वितीये मासे क्षीरमेव च मधुरौषधसिद्धम्, तृतीये मासे क्षीरं मधुसर्पिर्भ्यामुपसंसृज्य, चतुर्थे मासे क्षीरनवनीतमक्षमात्रमश्नीयात, पञ्चमे मासे क्षीरसर्पिः, षष्ठे मासे क्षीरसर्पिः मधुरौषधसिद्धम्, तदेव सप्तमे मासि, तत्र गर्भस्य केशा जायमाना मातुर्विदाहं जनयन्तीति स्त्रियो भाषन्ते ; तन्नेति भगवानात्रेयः, किन्तु गर्भोत्पीड़नाद्धि वातपित्तश्लेष्माण उरः प्राप्य विदहन्ति । ततः कण्डूरुपजायते ; कण्डूमूला किक्किसावाप्तिः ; तत्र कोलोदकेन नवनीतस्य मधुरौषधसिद्धस्य पाणितलमात्रं काले कालेऽस्य दद्यात्, चन्दनमृणालकल्कैश्चास्याः स्तनोदरं विमृद्नीयात् । शिरीषधातकीसर्षपमधूकचूर्णैः कुटजार्जकबीजमुस्तहरिद्राकल्कैर्वा निम्बकोलकसुरसमञ्जिष्ठाकल्कैर्वा पृषतहरिणशशरुधिरयुतया त्रिफलया वा, करवीरपत्रकसिद्धेन वा तैलेनाभ्यङ्गः, परिषेकः पुनर्मालतीमधुकसिद्धेनाम्भसा, जातकण्डूश्च कण्डूयनं वर्जयेत त्वग्भेदवैरूप्यपरिहारार्थम्, असह्यायान्तु कण्ड्वामुन्मर्दनोद्वर्षणाभ्यां परिहारः स्यात्, मधुरमाहारजातं वातहरमल्पमस्नेहलवणमल्पोदकानुपानं भुञ्जीत । अष्टमे तु मासे क्षीरयवागूं सर्पिष्मतीं काले काले पिबेत् ; नेति भद्रकाप्यः पैङ्गल्याबाधो हि अस्या गर्भमागच्छेदिति ; अस्त्वत्र पैङ्गल्याबाध इत्याह भगवान् पुनर्वसुरात्रेयः, न त्वेवैतन्न कार्यम्, एवं कुर्वती ह्यरोगाऽरोगबलवर्णस्वरसंहननसम्पदुपेतं ज्ञातीनां श्रेष्ठमपत्यं जनयति ; नवमे तु खल्वेनां मासे मधुरौषधसिद्धेन तैलेनानुवासयेत् ; अतश्चवास्यास्तैलपिचुं योनौ प्रणयेत् गर्भस्थानमार्गस्नेहनार्थम् । यदिदं कर्म प्रथमं मासं समुपादायोपदिष्टमानवममासात्, तेन गर्भिण्या गर्भसमये गर्भधारणे कुक्षिकटीपार्श्वपृष्ठं मृदु भवति, वातश्चानुलोमः सम्पद्यते, मूत्रपुरीषे च प्रकृतिभूते सुखेन मार्गावापद्येते, चर्मनखानि च मार्दवमुपयान्ति, बलवर्णौ चोपचीयेते पुत्रं चेष्टं सम्पदुपेतं सुखिनं सुखेनैषा काले प्रजायते । इति ।

VYĀSA'S VERSES ON VYAVAHĀRA

By BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

In my youthful years I had collected the verses attributed to Vyāsa in the Nibandhas and Commentaries, and of Vyāsa's verses bearing on Vyavahāra I published the first one hundred and sixteen in *Studia Indo-Iranica, Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger* (Munich, 1931) and the rest in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik,* Band 9, Heft 1 (Leipzig, 1932). Here I am only republishing what I had published in Europe more than twelve years ago so that at least some parts of this important lost Smṛti may be known to my countrymen to whom, as I have had occasion to notice more than once before, my collection published partly in a Festschrift and partly in a specialised journal has remained completely unknown. I also collected Vyāsa's verses on Ācāra and Prāyaścitta, but now no more than twelve years ago do I find any reason justifying the publication of those insipid sayings of a person who probably had nothing but his name in common with the author of the work on Vyavahāra of which the available fragments preserved in quotations are being presented here. These Vyavahāra verses, however, are of peculiar importance for the history of Hindu Law as was pointed out by the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal (*Manu and Yājñavalkya,* p. 300) at whose instance I began to study the Smṛtis.

But even of the verses on Vyavahāra attributed to Vyāsa all could not have formed part of the lost Smṛti, for some of them, *e.g.,* verses 235 ff. (see note to verse 235), are evidently taken from a Purāṇa or some such work, and the same may be hazarded of many other verses of this collection, though in their case an absolutely unmistakable indication as to their ultimate source may not be available.—Vyāsa's metrical Smṛti might have been preceded by a prose Sūtra-work fathered on the same mythological personage, for nos. 61 and 220 of this collection are prose passages.—As for the date of the author of the lost Vyāsasmṛti, it is significant that Bṛhaspati has been actually quoted in one verse (no. 219), and, as the notes will show, the authorship of a large number of Vyāsa's verses is contested by Kātyāyana, though Kātyāyana is by no means the only author who thus disputes Vyāsa's claims. It is permissible to conclude from this evidence that the metrical Smṛtis attributed to Bṛhaspati, Kātyāyana and Vyāsa, all lost, were composed in the order of this enumeration at dates not far distant from each other.

Quite a big volume could have been written on the lost Vyāsasmṛti on the basis of the material in my collection, but I have now neither the taste nor the time for such a work. Smṛti was my first love, but other metals proved later more attractive, particularly Vedic Philology, Linguistics, and Philosophy. Yet who is there that has never felt the force of the saying : *on revient toujours à ses premiers amours ?*

ABBREVIATIONS

Ap.=Aparārkabhāṣya on Yājñavalkya.
Da. Vi=Daṇḍaviveka *by* Vardhamāna (Gaek. Or. Ser.).
Dā.=Dāyabhāga (Calcutta, 1870).
Par.=Parāśaramādhavīyam.
Bāl.=Vyavahāra-Bālambhaṭṭī.
Mit.=Mitākṣarā (published along with Vī. Ṭī. in Chowkh. Sans. Series).
Vi.=Vivādaratnākara *by* Caṇḍeśvara (Bibl. Ind.).
Vi. Ci.=Vivādacintāmaṇi (Calcutta, 1837).
Vī.=Vīramitrodaya.
Vī. Ṭī.=Vīramitrodayaṭīkā on Yājñavalkya published along with Mit.
Vya. Ma.=Vyavahāramayūkha (Kane).
Vya. Mā.=Vyavahāramātṛkā *by* Jīmūtavāhana.
Sar.=Sarasvatīvilāsa (Mysore, 1927).
Smṛ.=Smṛticandrikā *by* Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa.

To each verse there is a corresponding foot-note giving the source (s) and, where necessary, critical remarks. The figures in the foot-notes always indicate *pages.*

व्यवहारभेदः

प्रमाणैर्हेतुचरितैः शपथेन नृपाज्ञया ।
वादिसम्प्रतिपत्त्या वा निर्णयोऽष्टविधः स्मृतः ॥१॥
लिखितं साक्षिणो भुक्तिः प्रमाणं त्रिविधं स्मृतम् ।
अनुमानं विदुर्हेतुं तर्कश्चेति मनीषिणः ॥२॥
देशस्थितिः पूर्वकृता चरित्रं समुदाहृतम् ।
अर्थानुरूपाः शपथाः स्मृताः सत्यधटादयः ।
तेषामभावे राजाज्ञां निर्णयं तु विदुर्बुधाः ॥३॥

निणतृनिर्णयः

सर्वशास्त्रार्थवेत्तारमलुब्धं न्यायभाषितम् ।
विप्रं प्राज्ञं क्रमायातममात्यं स्थापयेद्द्विजम् ॥४॥
द्विजान् विहाय यः पश्येत् कार्याणि वृषलैः सह ।
तस्य प्रक्षुभ्यते राष्ट्रं बलं कोशश्च नश्यति ॥५॥
राजा पुरोहितं कुर्यादुदीच्यं ब्राह्मणं हितम् ।
श्रुताध्ययनसम्पन्नमलूब्धं सत्यबादिनम् ॥६॥
विवादानुगतम्पृष्ट्वा ससभ्यस्तम्प्रयत्नतः ।
विचारयति येनासौ प्राड्विवाकस्ततः स्मृतः ॥७॥

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1. Vī. 117.—Reading faulty. To get the number eight we must take *hetucaritaiḥ* as an independent substantive and not as an adjective qualifying *pramāṇaiḥ*, but why then plural ending in *hetucaritaiḥ?* The reading *"vādī sampratipattyā"* in Vī. is a typographical error.

2. Vī. 117, Sar. 111, Smṛ. 23.—In Sar. only the first line is quoted and attributed to Nārada. I take it that the stop between *iti* and *nāradokteḥ* in Sar. is a typographical error.

3. Vī. 117, Sar. 106, Smṛ. 23.—Only middle line anonymously quoted in Sar.

4. Vya. Ma. 4, Smṛ. 30.

5. Ap. 602, Da. Vi. 14, Vī. 33, Vī. Ṭī. 378, Vya. Mā. 280, Sar. 65, Smṛ. 31.

6. Vī. 38, Smṛ. 32.—Vī. reads *udīrṇam* for *udīcyam*.

7. Mit. 392, Vī. 38, Smṛ. 37.—Smṛ reads *dṛṣṭvā* for *pṛṣṭvā*. The verse is quoted anonymously in Mit.

त्रिस्कन्धज्योतिषाभिज्ञं स्फुटप्रत्ययकारकम् ।
श्रुताध्ययनसम्पन्नं गणकं योजयेन्नृपः ।।८।।
स्फुटलेखं नियुञ्जीत शब्दलाक्षणिकं शुचिम् ।
स्पष्टाक्षरं जितक्रोधमलुब्धं सत्यवादिनम् ।।९।।
साध्यपालस्तु कर्तव्यो राज्ञा साध्यस्य साधकः ।
क्रमायातः दृढः शूद्रः सभ्यानां च मते स्थितः ।।१०।।
नासौ सभा यत्र न सन्ति वृद्धाः
वृद्धा न ते ये न वदन्ति धर्मम् ।
नासौ धर्मो यत्र न सत्यमस्ति
न तत् सत्यं यच्छलेनानुविद्धम् ।।११।।
ये तु सभ्याः सभां प्राप्य तूष्णीं ध्यायन्त आसते ।
यथाप्राप्तं न च ब्रूयुः सर्वे तेऽनृतवादिनः ।।१२।।

धर्मस्थानेऽवस्थानम्

अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनौ सभ्यान् लेखकम्प्रेक्षकांश्च यः ।
धर्मवाक्यै रञ्जयति सभास्तारयितामियात् ।।१३।।
परस्परविसंवादं सन्देहात् कुर्वतो नरान् ।
यस्तेषां संशयच्छेत्ता स सभ्यः प्राणदः स्मृतः ।।१४।।

दर्शनविधिः

वणिक्शिल्पिप्रभृतिषु कृषिरङ्गोपजीविषु ।
अशक्यो निर्णयो ह्यन्यैस्तदीयैरेव कारयेत् ।।१५।।

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8. Par. 30, Vī. 42-3, Smṛ. 38.
9. Par. 30, Vī. 43, Smṛ. 38.—*śabdakṣepaṇikam* for °*lākṣaṇikam* in Smṛ.
10. Par. 30, Vī. 42, Vya. Ma. 5, Smṛ. 39.
11. Ap. 604, Sar. 70.
12. Ap. 604.—Cf. Manu VIII. 13.
13. Vī. 43, Smṛ. 46.—*sa sabhyaḥ ślāghatām iyāt* in Smṛ.
14. Smṛ. 46.—Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa adds: *narān vivādato nivārye 'ti śeṣaḥ.*
15. Par. 42, Vī. 30, Vī. Ṭī. 390, Vya. Ma. 8.—Vya. Ma. seriously modifies this important rule by reading *tajjñair eva tu kārayet.* The verse is attributed to Manu in Vī. Ṭī.

गुरुः स्वामी कुटुम्बी च पिता ज्येष्ठः पितामहः ।
विवादं नैव पश्येयुः स्वाधीने विषये नृणाम् ॥१६॥

दर्शनोपक्रमः

उत्पादयति यो हिंसां देयं वा न प्रयच्छति ।
याचमानाय दौःशील्यादाकृष्योऽसौ नृपाज्ञया ॥१७॥
परानीकहते देशे दुर्भिक्षे व्याधिपीडिते ।
कुर्वीत पुनराह्वानं दण्डं न परिकल्पयेत् ॥१८॥

आसेधविधिः

आसेधयोग्य आसिद्ध उत्क्रामन्दण्डमर्हति ॥१९॥
आसेधयंस्त्वनासेध्यान् राज्ञा शास्य इति स्थितिः ॥२०॥
रोगी यियक्षुरुन्मत्तो धर्मार्थी व्यसनी व्रती ।
दानोन्मुखो नाभियोज्यो नासेध्यो नाह्वयेच्च तम् ॥२१॥

पूर्वपक्षः

अर्थार्थी पीड़ितो वापि प्रमाणबलमास्थितः ।
निरवद्यं सत्प्रतिज्ञम्पूर्वपक्षम्प्रकल्पयेत् ॥२२॥
पाण्डुलेखेन फलके भूमौ वा प्रथमं लिखेत् ।
ऊनाधिकं तु संशोध्य पश्चात् पत्रे निवेशयेत् ॥२३॥

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16. Par. 42.

17. Vī. 55, Sar. 81, Smṛ. 76.—Attributed to Kātyāyana in Vī.

18. Vī. 55, Smṛ. 76-7.—Vī. murders the verse by misreading *daṇḍena parikalpayet*.

19. Vī. 56, Smṛ. 68.—Mitramiśra attributes this verse to Kātyāyana.

20. Vi. Ci. 22, Smṛ. 68.—Attributed to Bṛhaspati in Vi. Ci.

21. Smṛ. 69.—*vyavasanī* for *vyasanī* is a typographical error.

22. Vya. Mā. 297.

23. Vī. 76, Vī. Ṭī. 401, Vya. Mā. 297.—Attributed to Vyāsa and Bṛhaspati in Vya. Mā.

उत्तरम्

साध्यस्य सत्यवचनं प्रतिपत्तिरुदाहृता ।
कारणं स्यादवस्कन्दो मिथ्या स्यात् साध्यनिह्नुतिः ॥२४॥
मिथ्योत्तरं कारणं च स्यातामेकत्र चेदुभे ।
सत्यं वापि सहान्येन तत्र ग्राह्यं किमुत्तरम् ॥२५॥
मिथ्याकारणयोर्वापि ग्राह्यं कारणमुत्तरम् ॥२६॥
यत् प्रभूतार्थविषयं यत्र वा स्यात् क्रियाफलम् ।
उत्तरं तत्र तज्ज्ञेयमसंकीर्णमतोऽन्यथा ॥२७॥

मिथ्या

मिथ्यैतन्नाभिजानामि मम तत्र न सन्निधिः ।
अजातश्चास्मि तत्काले एवं मिथ्या चतुर्विधा ॥२८॥

क्रियापादः

प्राङ्न्यायकारणोक्तौ तु प्रत्यर्थी निर्दिशेत् क्रियाम् ।
मिथ्योक्तौ पूर्ववादी तु प्रतिपत्तौ न सा भवेत् ॥२९॥

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24. Mit. 410, Vī. 74-5, Vya. Mā. 300, Sar. 92.—The third pāda of the verse not in Vī.; only first half quoted in Sar., but attributed to Kātyāyana; Mit. attributes the verse to Hārīta.—Admission of charge is *pratipatti*—as when one admits his debt when challenged by his creditor; denial of the debt would be *mithyā* in such a case; and it would be *avaskanda* if the accused replies either that he has paid back the debt, or that what he has received is gift, or prefers some similar argument.

25-26. Ap. 613, Mit. 410-1, Vya. Mā. 304, Sar. 96.—In Sar. (25) is attributed to Hārīta and (26) to Nārada; both attributed to Hārīta in Mit.—Vya. Mā. reads *svayaṁ vā 'pi* for *satyaṁ vā 'pi*. Vijñāneśvara remarks by way of elucidation: *yatra ca sampratipatter uttarāntarasya ca saṅkaras tatrottarāntaropādānena pūrvaṁ vyavahāraḥ pravartayitavyaḥ, paścād alpaviṣayottaropādānena ca vyavahāro draṣṭavyaḥ, sampratipattau kriyābhāvāt..*

27. Ap. 613-4, Mit. 410, Vya. Mā. 304, Sar. 96.—Attributed to Hārīta in Sar. and Mit.—Vijñāneśvara makes some important observations on this verse: *yathā "anena suvarṇaṁ, rūpakaśataṁ, vastrāṇi ca gṛhītānī" 'ty abhiyoge "suvarṇaṁ rūpakaśataṁ ca na gṛhītaṁ vastrāṇi tu gṛhītāni pratidattāni ce" 'ti; atra mithyottarasya prabhūtaviṣayatvād arthinaḥ kriyām ādāya prathamaṁ vyavahāraḥ pravartayitavyaḥ, paścād vastraviṣayo vyavahāraḥ.*

28. Vī. 76, Vya. Mā. 300, Sar. 92, Smṛ. 98.—Attributed to Kātyāyana in Sar. and Smṛ.

29. Ap. 616, Mit. 514, Vī. 92, Sar. 99, Smṛ. 120.—Quoted anonymously in Mit.; attributed to Hārīta in Ap. and Smṛ—This is on important rule as to on

प्राङ्न्याये जयपत्रेण प्राड्विवाकादिभिस्तथा ।
सत्यं वादी समाप्नोति यद्यत्तेन निवेदितम् ॥३०॥
कार्यं हि साध्यमित्युक्तं साधनं तु क्रियोच्यते ।
द्विभेदा सा पुनर्ज्ञेया मानुषी दैविकी तथा ॥३१॥
न मयैतत् कृतं लेख्यं कूटमन्येन कारितम् ।
अधरीकृत्य तत् पत्रमर्थं दिव्येन निर्णयः ॥३२॥
अरण्ये विजने रात्रावन्तर्वेश्मनि साहसे ।
न्यासापह्नवने चैव दिव्या सम्भवति क्रिया ॥३३॥
रहःकृतं प्रकाशं च द्विविधं कार्यमुच्यते ।
प्रकाशं साक्षिभिर्भाव्यं दैविकेन रहःकृतम् ॥३४॥
यन्नाम लेख्यं तल्लेख्यं तुल्यं लेख्यं क्वचिद्भवेत् ।
अगृहीतधने तत्र कार्यो दैवेन निर्णयः ॥३५॥
प्रथमे यत्र भिद्यन्ते साक्षिणश्च तथापरे ।
परेभ्यश्च तथा चान्ये तं वादं शपथैर्नयेत् ॥३६॥
पूगश्रेणिगणादीनां या स्थितिः परिकीर्तिता ।
तस्यास्तु साधनं लेख्यं न दिव्यं न च साक्षिणः ॥३७॥

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which party the burden of proof shall fall : when reference is made to a verdict in a similar previous case (*prāṅnyāya*), or when a protest (*kāraṇa)* is made, the burden of proof shall fall on the accused (*pratyarthī*); but in the case of denial by the accused (*mithyokti*) the burden shall fall on the complainant; there will be no procedure if the accused admits his guilt (*pratipattau*). Cf. note on verse 24 and Jolly, *Hindu Law and Custom,* p. 302.

30. Ap. 616, Vya. Mā. 309, Smṛ. 119.—According to Devaṇṇabhbṭṭa, this verse relates to cases in which reference to previous verdicts is made by the accused (*prāṅnyāyottare).*

31. Ap. 616, Vī. 111, Sar. 111, Smṛ. 124.—Attributed to Kātyāyana by Aparārka.

32. Ap. 630, Vī. 114-5, Vya. Ma. 23, Sar. 109, Smṛ. 122.—Reading slightly different in Smṛ.; attributed to Hārīta by Aparārka; *adharīkṛtya=avajñāya.*

33. Ap. 630, Vī. 113, Vya. Ma. 23.—Attributed to Nārada by Aparārka and Mitramiśra.

34. Ap. 629, Par. 89.

35. Par. 90, Vī. 115, Smṛ. 149.—Reading uncertain : *yannāmagotrair yallekhyam* in Vī. and Smṛ., but the verse is there attributed to Prajāpati.—This verse gives the important rule that cases in which property is involved should not be decided by ordeal.

36. Vī. 114.—Meaning of this cryptic verse is not clear.

37. Ap. 629, Sar. 109, Smṛ. 122.—Attributed to Kātyāyana in Sar. and Smṛ.

लेख्यनिरूपणम्

राज्ञा तु स्वयमादिष्टः सन्धिविग्रहलेखकः ।
ताम्रपट्टे पटे वापि विलिखेद्राजशासनम् ।
क्रियाकारकसम्बन्धं समासार्थक्रियान्वितम् ॥३८॥
समामासतदर्धाहर्नृपनामोपलक्षितम् ।
प्रतिग्रहीतृजात्यादिसगोत्रब्रह्मचारिकम् ॥३९॥
स्थानं वंशानुपूर्वीं च देशं ग्राममुपागतम् ।
ब्राह्मणांस्तु तथैवान्यान्मान्यानधिकृतान् लिखेत् ॥४०॥
कुटुम्बिनोऽथ कायस्थदूतवैद्यमहोत्तरान् ।
म्लेच्छचण्डालपर्यन्तान् सर्वान् सम्बोधयन्निति ॥४१॥
मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यायामुकसूनवे ।
दत्तं मयामुकायाथ दानं सब्रह्मणारिणे ॥४२॥
अनाच्छेद्यमनाहार्यं सर्वभाव्यविवर्जितम् ।
चन्द्रार्कसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयानुगम् ॥४३॥
सन्निवेशं प्रमाणं च स्वहस्तेन लिखेत् स्वयम् ।
मतं मेऽमुकपुत्रस्य अमुकस्य महीपतेः ॥४४॥
दातुः पालयितुः स्वर्गं हर्तुर्नरकमेव च ।
षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि दानच्छेदफलं तथा ।
आगामिनृपसामन्तबोधनार्थं नृपो लिखेत् ॥४५॥

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38. Ap. 580, Par. 122, Vī. 193, Vya. Ma. 28, Smṛ. 125-6.—Third line only in Par. and Smṛ.

39. Par. 123, Smṛ. 126.

40. Ap. 580, Par. 123, Smṛ. 126.

41. Ap. 580, Par. 123, Smṛ. 127.—Smṛ. reads *kāryasthadūta;* of the third pāda the reading of Smṛ. has been accepted here.

42. Ap. 580, Par. 123, Smṛ. 127.

43. Ap. 580, Vī. 192, Smṛ. 127.—Attributed to Bṛhaspati in Vī. and Smṛ.

44. Bāl. 318, Vī. 193, Vya. Ma. 28.—Bāl. reads: *rājakīye tathā rājā.*—These rules are however non-obligatory. Thus Medhātithi *ad* Manu VIII. 3:—*tatra yadi lekhako na likhen maye 'daṁ likhitam iti, bhaved eva tādṛśaṁ lekhyaṁ paripūrṇalakṣaṇam.*

45. Ap. 580, Vī. 194, Sar. 112, Smṛ. 127.—First line only in Ap. and Sar., but the third line is not there; author's name not given in Sar.; first two lines attributed elsewhere (p. 192) to Bṛhaspati in Vī. as they are in Smṛ.

सामान्योऽयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां
काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः।
सर्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥४६॥
सन्धिविग्रहकारी च भवेद्यश्चापि लेखकः।
स्वयं राज्ञा समादिष्टः स लिखेद्राजशासनम् ॥४७॥
स्वनाम तु लिखेत् पश्चान्मुद्रितं राजमुद्रया।
ग्रामक्षेत्रगृहादीनामीदृक् स्याद्राजशासनम् ॥४८॥
ज्ञातं मयेति लिखितं दात्रध्यक्षाक्षरैर्युतम्।
अब्दमासतदर्धाहाराजमुद्राङ्कितं तथा।
अनेन विधिना लेख्यं राजशासनकं लिखेत् ॥४९॥
व्यवहारान् स्वयं दृष्ट्वा श्रुत्वा वा प्राड्विवाकतः।
जयपत्रं ततो दद्यात् परिज्ञानाय पार्थिवः ॥५०॥
पूर्वोत्तरक्रियापादं प्रमाणं तत्परीक्षणम्।
निगदं स्मृतिवाक्यं च यथासभ्यं विनिश्चितम्।
एतत् सर्वं समासेन जयपत्रे विलेखयेत् ॥५१॥
जङ्गमं स्थावरं येन प्रमाणेनात्मसात्कृतम्।
भागाभिशापसन्दिग्धे यः सम्यग्विजयी भवेत्।
तस्मै राज्ञा प्रदातव्यं जयपत्रं सुनिश्चितम् ॥५२॥
लिखेज्जानपदं लेख्यं प्रसिद्धस्थानलेखकः।
राजवंशक्रमयुतं वर्षमासार्धवासरैः ॥५३॥

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46. Par. 123, Smṛ. 127.—This verse is to be inserted in the document.

47. Mit. 357, Smṛ. 128.—Anonymously quoted in Mit. in a slightly different form.

48. Smṛ. 128.—The scribe too has to insert his name in the document.

49. Ap. 580, Smṛ. 129.—Smṛ. reads: *dātrā 'dhyakṣākṣaraiḥ.*

50. Par. 124, Vī. 123, 194, Smṛ. 129.—This and the following two verses describe the document of verdict to be given to the victorious party (*jayapatra*).

51. Par. 124, Vī. 194, Smṛ. 129.—Par. reads: *yathā sabhyaviniścitam.*

52. Par. 124, Vī. 194, Smṛ. 129.—Purpose of this verse is to point out clearly to whom the *jayapatra* is to be issued.

53. Par. 125, Sar. 113, Smṛ. 132.—Sar. reads: *prasiddhaṁ sthānalekhakam.*—Purpose of this and the four following verses is to show how provincial documents (*jānapadaṁ lekhyam*) are to be drawn up.

पितृपूर्वं नामजाती धनिकर्णिकयोर्लिखेत् ।
द्रव्यभेदप्रमाणं च वृद्धिं चोभयसम्मताम् ।।५४।।
जातिः संज्ञा निवासोऽर्थः संख्या वृद्धिश्च वत्सरः ।
मासः पक्षो दिनं चैषां लिखितं व्यक्तिकारणम् ।।५५।।
देशस्थित्या क्रियाधानप्रतिग्राहविचिह्नितम् ।।५६।।
मयोभयाभ्यर्थितेनामुकेनामुकसूनुना ।
स्वहस्तयुक्तं स्वं नाम लेखकस्त्वन्ततो लिखेत् ।
एवं जानपदे लेख्ये व्यासेनाभिहितो विधिः ।।५७।।
चिरकं च स्वहस्तं च तथोपगतसंज्ञितम् ।
आधिपत्रं चतुर्थं च पञ्चमं क्रयपत्रकम् ।।५८।।
षष्ठं तु स्थितिपत्राख्यं सप्तमं सन्धिपत्रकम् ।
विशुद्धिपत्रकं चैवमष्टधा लौकिकं स्मृतम् ।।५९।।
ऋणिहस्तं नामयुतं साक्षिभ्यां पितृपूर्वकम् ।।६०।।
साक्षिणस्तु स्वहस्तेन पितृनामपूर्वकं लिखेयुः ।।६१।।
अलिपिज्ञ ऋणी यः स्याल्लेखयेत् स्वमतं तु सः ।
साक्षी वा साक्षिणान्येन सर्वसाक्षिसमीपगः ।।६२।।

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54. Par. 125, Sar. 113, Smṛ. 132.—Sar. reads *pṛthvīm* for *vṛddhim*.
55. Ap. 685.
56. Smṛ. 133.
57. Sar. 115, Smṛ. 135.—*antataḥ=lekhyasyā 'nte.*

58-59. Par. 126, Smṛ. 135.—Par. reads *cīrakam*. Documents called *ciraka* drawn up by city scribes (*pauralekhakair likhitam*) have been described by the Saṁgrahakāra quoted in Smṛ. (p. 135).—Documents drawn up by the *Grāhaka* himself, unattested by witness, are called *svahasta* according to Kātyāyana; similarly, the document written by the *Dāyaka* and accepted by the *Grāhaka* is called *upagata;* documents concerning contracts entered into by guilds and corporations are *sthitipatras,* and the document in which it is recorded that a person has freed himself from the burden of a curse by performing proper penance is called *viśuddhipatra* (Kātyāyana, Smṛ., p. 136).

60. Smṛ. 134.—This applies to all documents.
61. Sar. 114.—It is in prose!
62. Mit. 522, Vī. Ṭī. 521, Vya. Mā. 338, Smṛ. 134.—Attributed to Nār. in Mit. and Smṛ.—*anabhijña ṛṇī* in Vī. Ṭī. for *alipijña ṛṇī.*

लेख्यपरीक्षा

दूषितः कर्मदुष्टो वा साक्षी यत्र निवेशितः ।
कूटलेख्यं तु तत् प्राहुः लेखको वापि तद्विधः ॥६३॥
दासावतन्त्रबालैश्च स्वीकृतं चैव यद्भवेत् ।
प्रमाणं नैव तल्लेख्यमिति शास्त्रविदो विदुः ॥६४॥
लेख्यमालेख्यवत् केचित् कुर्वन्ति कुशला नराः ।
तस्मात्तल्लेख्यसामर्थ्यात् सिद्धिर्नैकान्तिकी मता ॥६५॥
ज्ञात्वा कालं देशकार्ये कुशलाः कूटकारकाः ।
कुर्वन्ति सदृशं लेख्यं तद्यत्नेन विचारयेत् ॥६६॥
स्त्रीबालानलिपिज्ञानान्वञ्चयन्ति स्वबान्धवाः ।
लेख्यं कृत्वा स्वनामाङ्कं ज्ञेयं युक्त्यागमैस्तु तत् ॥६७॥
यच्चान्यस्य कृतं लेख्यमन्यहस्ते प्रदृश्यते ।
अवश्यं तेन वक्तव्यं पत्रस्यागमनं ततः ॥६८॥
अदृष्टाश्रावितं लेख्यं प्रमीतधनिकर्णिकम् ।
अबन्धलग्नकं चैव बहुकालं न सिध्यति ॥६९॥
स्थावरे विक्रयाधाने लेख्यं कूटं करोति यः ।
स सम्यग्भावितः कार्यो जिह्वापाण्यङ्घ्रिवर्जितः ॥७०॥
स्वहस्तकाज्जानपदं तस्मात्तु नृपशासनम् ।
प्रमाणतरमिष्टं हि व्यवहारार्थमागतम् ॥७१॥

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63. Smṛ. 142.

64. Vya. Mā. 339.

65. Ap. 688, Vī. 197, Vya. Mā. 339, Smṛ. 148.—Reading everywhere *"siddhir aikāntikī"* excepting in Ap.

66-67. Ap. 688, Vī. 196.—In Vī., where the reading is somewhat different, these two verses are attrituted to Bṛhaspati.

68. Ap. 690, Par. 139, Smṛ. 150.—Reading in Smṛ. : *patraṁ patrāgamaṁ tataḥ.*

69. Ap. 692, Vī. 198, Sar. 123, Smṛ. 151.—Reading in Vī. and sar. : *adṛṣṭaṁ śrāvitam.*

70. Vī. 199. Says Mitramiśra on this verse : *samyagbhāvitaḥ pramāṇena sallekhyatvam aṅgīkāritaḥ; anena kūṭalekhyakartur nā 'yaṁ daṇḍaḥ, kintu kūṭatvodbhāvanakartur iti gamyate; tathā ca lekhyaṁ parakīyaṁ yaḥ kūṭaṁ karoti, kūṭam etad iti vadatī 'ty arthaḥ; kūṭalekhakartus tu daṇḍāntaram.* This seems to be a forced interpretation.

71. Ap. 691, Par. 137, Vī. 200, Smṛ. 150.—This verse gives the comparative value of legal documents.

द्वित्रिलिपिज्ञः स्वकृतेन सलेख्येन युक्तिभिः ।
कुर्याद्धि सदृशं लेख्यं तस्माज्जानपदं शुभम् ।।७२।।
अप्रकाशात् साक्षियुतं लेखकाक्षरमुद्रितम् ।
लोकप्रसिद्धं स्वकृताद्वरमन्यत् कृतं शुभम् ।।७३।।
देशाध्यक्षादिना लेख्यं यत्र जानपदं कृतम् ।
समकालं पश्चिमं वा तत्र राजकृतं शुभम् ।।७४।।

भुक्तिनिरूपणम्

वर्षाणि विंशतिर्यस्य भूर्भुक्ता तु परैरिह ।
सति राज्ञि समर्थस्य तस्य सेह न सिध्यति ।।७५।।
उपेक्षिता यथा धेनुर्विना पालेन नश्यति ।
पश्यतोऽन्यैस्तथा भुक्ता भूमिः कालेन हीयते ।।७६।।
याच्ञाधर्मेण यद्भुक्तं श्रोत्रियै राजपूरुषैः ।
सुहृद्भिर्बान्धवैर्वापि न तद्भोगेन हीयते ।।७७।।
धर्मोऽक्षयः श्रोत्रिये स्याद्भयं स्याद्राजपूरुषे ।
स्नेहः सुहृद्बान्धवेषु भुक्तमेतैर्न हीयते ।।७८।।
सनाभिभिर्बान्धवैर्वा भुक्तं यत् स्वजनैस्तथा ।
भोगे तत्र न सिद्धिः स्याद्भोगमन्यत्र कल्पयेत् ।।७९।।

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72. Ap. 691, Par. 137, Vī. 201, Vya. Mā. 338.—Everywhere slight variations in reading; the accepted version is that of Ap. who says in elucidation of this verse : *salekhyena samānena lekhyena yuktibhiś cā 'nekalipijñena kṛtaṁ svalekhyaṁ śuddhiṁ na yāti 'ty adhyāhāryaṁ, yato 'sau sadṛśaṁ api kartuṁ śaknoti; tasmāj jānapadaṁ varaṁ ity arthaḥ.*

73-74. Ap. 691, Par. 137, Vī. 201, Vya. Mā. 338.—Reading accepted is that of Ap.

75. Ap. 632, Vī. 209, Sar. 129, Smṛ. 155.

76. Ap. 632, Vī. 209, Smṛ. 155.

77. Par. 149, Smṛ. 157.

78. Smṛ. 157.—This verse shows that in Vyāsa's opinion proprietory right is not lost through usucaption if the owner is deterred from reclaiming his property within the prescribed period through extraneous considerations such as hope of religious merit, fear of state officials, and affection for friends and relations.

79. Smṛ. 158.—Proprietory right is not lost through adverse possession by relations.

आहर्ता याभियुक्तेन प्रमाणेन प्रसाधिता ।
भूमिः सा तत्सुतात् प्राप्ता न हर्तव्या कदाचन ॥८०॥
भुक्तिः सा पौरुषी भूमेर्द्विगुणा तु द्विपौरुषी ।
त्रिपौरुषी च त्रिगुणा न तत्रान्वेष्य आगमः ॥८१॥
पिता पितामहो यस्य जीवेच्च प्रपितामहः ।
त्रयाणां जीवतां भोगो विज्ञेयस्त्वेकपूरुषः ॥८२॥
प्रपितामहेन यद्भुक्तं तत् पुत्रेण विना च तम् ।
तौ विना यस्य पित्रा च तस्य भोगस्त्रिपूरुषः ॥८३॥
सागमो दीर्घकालश्चाविच्छेदोऽपरवोज्झितः ।
प्रत्यर्थिसन्निधानश्च पञ्चाङ्गो भोग इष्यते ॥८४॥
यद्विनागममत्यन्तं भुक्तं पूर्वैस्त्रिभिर्भवेत् ।
न तच्छक्यमपाहर्तुं क्रमात्त्रिपुरुषागतम् ॥८५॥
शास्त्रेषु लेख्यसाक्षिभ्यां भुक्तिरप्यधिका मता ॥८६॥

साक्षिलक्षणनिरूपणम्

धर्मज्ञः पुत्रिणो मौलाः कुलीनाः सत्यवादिनः ।
श्रौतस्मार्तक्रियायुक्ता विगतद्वेषमत्सराः ॥८७॥
श्रोत्रिया न पराधीनाः सूरयश्चाप्रवासितः ।
युवानः साक्षिणः कार्या ऋणादिषु विजानता ॥८८॥

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80. Smṛ. 171.—Prose order: *tatsutān na hartavyā.* ....

81. Par. 142, Vī. 206, Vya. Mā. 341, Smṛ. 172.

82. Vī. 205, Vya. Mā. 341.—It is clearly stated in Vya. Mā. in explanation of this important verse that possession for even sixty years will not be regarded as possession for three generations if grandfather, father and son are all alive (during the period of those sixty years), for the grandfather in that case being the sole party entitled to independent possession the possession will be regarded as his alone for all these sixty years: *yugapaj jīvatsu tṛṣu ṣaṣṭivarṣabhoge 'pi na traipuruṣikaḥ, pitāmahasya svātantryāt tasyai 'va tatra bhogaḥ.*

83. Vī. 206, Vya. Mā. 341.—Jīmūtavāhana here still further clarifies what is meant by "possession for three generations": *ekena tāvad bhuktaṁ, tasmin mṛte tatputreṇa, tayoś ca mṛtayos tṛtīyena, tasmin mṛte caturthasya traipuruṣiko bhavati, trayāṇām eva svātantrayāt.*

84. Ap. 630, Vī. 204, Vya. Ma. 30, Vya Mā. 342, Sar. 130, 164, Smṛ. 161.—*aparavojjhita=ākrośarahita,* not challenged by any other claimant. Ap. reads: *chedopādhivivarjitaḥ.*

85. Ap. 637, Vī. 206, Vya. Mā. 341, Sar. 133.

86. Vya. Mā. 313.

87-88. Par. 94, Bāl. 254, Vī. 148, Vya. Ma. 35, Smṛ. 174.

ज्ञात्वा कार्यं देशकालकुशलाः कूटकारकाः ।
कुर्वन्ति सदृशं लेख्यं नैते स्युः साक्षिणो यथा ॥८९॥
शुचिक्रियश्च धर्मज्ञः साक्षी यस्त्वनुभूतवाक् ।
प्रमाणमेकोऽपि भवेत् साहसेषु विशेषतः ॥९०॥
दिव्यमोषधिभिर्मन्त्रैः प्रायेण व्यभिचार्यते ।
न खल्वदोषदुष्टानां व्यभिचारोऽस्ति साक्षिणाम् ॥९१॥
अर्थी यत्र न विद्येत तत्र साक्षी मृतान्तरः ।
प्रत्यर्थी वा मृतो यत्र तत्राप्येवं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥९२॥
राज्ञा धर्मासनस्थेन यत् श्रुतं तत्त्वमिच्छता ।
नान्यः साक्षी भवेत्तत्र मुक्त्वा राजानमीश्वरम् ॥९३॥

साक्ष्युद्भावनम्

साक्षिदोषः प्रयोक्तव्यः संसदि प्रतिवादिना ।
पत्रेऽभिलिखितान् सर्वान्वाच्याः प्रत्युत्तरं तु ते ॥९४॥

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89. Smṛ. 174.

90. Par. 96, Vī. 150, Vya. Ma. 35, Vya. Mā. 319, Smṛ. 175.—Everywhere minor variations in reading.

91. Smṛ. 181.—This verse indirectly permits those to appear as witness who may be without the specific qualities of a witness but are at any rate free from incapacitating blemish: so at least Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa : *lakṣaṇānvitasākṣiṇām alābhe pratiṣedharāhityamātraśālināṁ sākṣitvaṁ vihitam.*

92. Smṛ. 188.—Witness giving evidence for a deceased complainant or defendant is called *mṛtāntara.* Nārada quoted in Smṛ. (*loc. cit.*) says however that the witness giving evidence for a deceased complainant will not be regarded as *mṛtāntara* if he had heard the deceased complainant's dying declarations (*mṛtāntaro 'rthini prete mumūrṣuśrāvitād ṛte*); to this Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa rightly adds : *mumūrṣugrahaṇaṁ svasthasyā 'py upalakṣaṇārtham.*

93. Vya. Mā. 320.—But in Vya. Mā. 322 we have : *nyāyyaḥ sākṣī bhavet tatra tyaktvā rājānam īśvaram !* According to Jīmutavāhana, the meaning of the verse is that the king after hearing the depositions of the witnesses should himself decide the issue (and not the judge ?) if the witnesses make contradictory statements.

94. Ap. 672, Par. 106, Bāl. 262, Vya. Ma. 38, Smṛ. 193.—Attributed to Kātyāyana in Par.

प्रतिपत्तौ न साक्षित्वमर्हन्ति तु कदाचन ।
अतोऽन्यथा भावनीयाः क्रियया प्रतिवादिना ॥९५॥
अन्यैस्तु साक्षिभिः साध्ये दूषणे पूर्वसाक्षिणाम् ।
अनवस्था भवेद्दोषस्तेषामप्यन्यसम्भवात् ॥९६॥
सभासदां प्रसिद्धं यल्लोकसिद्धमथापि वा ।
साक्षिणां दूषणं ग्राह्यमसाध्यं दोषवर्जनात् ॥९७॥
अभावयन्दमं दाप्यः प्रत्यर्थी साक्षिणः स्फुटम् ।
भाविताः साक्षिणो वर्ज्याः साक्षिधर्मनिराकृताः ॥९८॥
जितः स विनयं दाप्यः शास्त्रदृष्टेन कर्मणा ।
यदि वादी निराकाङ्क्षः शाक्षिसत्वो व्यवस्थितः ॥९९॥

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95. Ap. 672, Par. 106, Bāl. 262, Vya. Ma. 38, Smṛ. 193.—Attributed to Kātyāyana in Par.—If the witnesses admit the charges brought against them by the opposite party then their ineligibility is established therewith; but if they don't admit those charges then the opposite party has to prove their incapacitating blemishes by means of written documents etc.

96. Ap. 679, Bāl. 266, Vya. Mā. 327, Smṛ. 193.—This verse lays down the important rule that the eligibility of witnesses of one party cannot be challenged by *witnesses* of the opposite party, for, if allowed, this would lead to infinite regress (*anavasthā*), there being no end to possible challenges and counterchallenges.

97. Ap. 672, Par. 105, Bāl. 266, Vī. 163, Vya. Ma. 38, Vya. Mā. 327, Smṛ. 193.—Attributed to Kātyāyana in Par.; everywhere unimportant variations.—Meaning of the verse is made clear by Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa: where the incapacitating blemish is evident in the witness (*prakaṭadūṣaṇe*),—there the proving of that incapacitating blemish by the opposite party is not necessary, it being the duty of the assessors themselves to take cognisance of such blemishes (*sabhyair eva tathāvidhadūṣaṇaṁ grāhyam*); nor is it possible for the opposite party to prove the blemish in such cases,—for the very good reason that in such cases the witnesses concerned are summarily dismissed (*prasiddhadoṣāt sākṣiṇo varjanasiddheḥ*).

98-99. Ap. 672, Par. 106, Bāl. 262, Mit. 506, Vī. 165, Vya. Ma. 38, Smṛ. 194.—Both verses attributed to Kātyāyana in Par.; many unimportant variations in reading.—The first verse lays down that if after declaring the witness of the opposite party to be ineligible the assailing party fails to prove the existence in him of any incapacitating blemish, then the assailing party will be punished; but if the incapacitating blemish is proved by the assailing party, then the witness concerned will be dismissed. The second verse lays down that after the existence of incapacitating blemish has been proved in the witness, and the witness has been dismissed consequently, the party thus assailed will have to try to prove his case by other means; he will be punished if he does not.

प्रमाणस्य हि ये दोषा वक्तव्यास्ते विवादिना ।
गूढास्तु प्रकटाः सभ्यैः काले शास्त्रप्रदर्शनात् ॥१००॥
अन्तरप्रभवो वादः सर्वसाक्षिसमुद्भवः ।
न याति निर्णयं यावत् तावत् पूर्वं विवर्जयेत् ॥१०१॥
प्रत्यर्थिनोऽर्थिनो वापि साक्षिदूषणसाधने ।
न तु साक्ष्यभियोगः स्याद्व्यवहारान्तरं तथा ॥१०२॥

साक्ष्यनुयोजनम्

साक्षिभावे नियुक्तानां देवता वियति स्थिताः ।
पितरश्चावलम्बन्ते वितथाख्यानशङ्कया ॥१०३॥
सत्यवाक्यैर्व्रजेदूर्ध्वमधो यान्त्यन्यथा कृते ।
तस्मात् सत्यं प्रवक्तव्यं भवद्भिः सभ्यसन्निधौ ॥१०४॥
बध्यन्ते वारुणैः पाशैः साक्षिणोऽनृतवादिनः ।
षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि तिष्ठन्ति नरके ध्रुवम् ॥१०५॥
तेषां वर्षशते पूर्णे पाश एक प्रमुच्यते ।
कालेऽतीते मुक्तपाशस्तिर्यग्योनिषु जायते ॥१०६॥
मानवो जायते पश्चात् सम्परित्यक्तबान्धवः ।
पङ्ग्वन्धबधिरो मूकः कुष्ठी नग्नः पिपासितः ।
बुभुक्षितः शत्रुगृहे भिक्षते भार्यया सह ॥१०७॥
ज्ञात्वा त्वनृततो दोषान् ज्ञात्वा सत्ये च सद्गुणान् ।
श्रेयस्करमिहामुत्र सत्यं साक्ष्ये वदेदतः ॥१०८॥

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100. Ap. 671, Vī. 164, Vya. Ma. 39, Smṛ. 192.—Attributed to Vyāsa only in Vya. Ma.—Cryptic wording: apparent blemishes to be declared by the assessors, but the non-apparent ones by the opposite party.

101-102. Smṛ. 195.—The general sense of the first verse seems to be that the *pūrvavyavahāra* should not be commenced until the *bona fides* of all the witnesses has been tested; but what is the meaning of the word *antaraprabhava?* The meaning of the second verse is clear: the act of assailing the witnesses is permitted, but that act is not to be regarded as a separate suit!

103-104. Par. 109, Smṛ. 199.—The Prāḍvivāka has to admonish the witness with the verses of this section. Cf. Manu VIII. 80 ff.

105. Par. 110, Sar. 105, Smṛ. 201.

106. Par. 110, Smṛ. 202.

107-108. Smṛ. 202.

साक्ष्यविषयकाणि वचनानि

कालाकृतिवयोद्रव्यदेशजातिप्रमाणतः ।
अन्यूनं चेन्निगदितं सिद्धं साध्यं विनिर्दिशेत् ॥१०९॥
मणिमन्त्रौषधिबलात् प्रदत्तं चाविधानतः ।
विसंवदेद्दिव्यमपि न तु साक्षी गुणान्वितः ॥११०॥
न नर्मयुक्तं वचनं हिनस्ति ।
न स्त्रीषु नित्यं न विवाहकाले ॥
प्राणात्यये सर्वधनापहारे ।
पञ्चानृतान्याहुरपातकानि ॥१११॥

निर्णयादिकृत्यम्

जितं तु दण्डयेद्राजा जेतुः पूजां प्रवर्तयेत् ।
अजिता अपि दण्ड्याः स्युः वेदशास्त्रनिषेधिनः ॥११२॥
जेतुः प्रवर्तते पूजा गन्धमाल्याम्बरादिना ॥११३॥
तीर्णप्रतिज्ञो विजयी मिथ्यावादी विहीयते ॥११४॥
निह्नवे तु यदा वादी स्वयं तत् प्रतिपद्यते ।
ज्ञेया सा प्रतिपत्तिस्तु तस्यार्धो विनयः स्मृतः ॥११५॥
व्याधिना पीडितो यस्तु यः कश्चिदपि ताम्यति ।
नैतम्मया पुनः कार्यं ब्रूयात्तस्यार्धको दमः ॥११६॥

दिव्यनिरूपणम्

धटोऽग्निविषतोयं च प्रमाणं तु चतुर्विधम् ।
दैविकस्य प्रभेदोऽयं कोशः शङ्कासु पञ्चमः ॥११७॥

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109. Vī. Ṭī. 510, Smṛ. 210.—Says Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa as introductory to this verse : *ṛṇādau sthirakarmaṇi anyūnātiriktaṁ pṛṣṭārthasamarpdkaṁ sākṣivacanaṁ pramāṇaṁ, nā 'nyat.*

110. Vya. Mā. 315, Smṛ. 219.—Vya. Mā. reads *cā 'bhidhānataḥ*.—The verse quoted thus out of context does not yield any satisfactory meaning.

111. Smṛ. 208.

112. Par. 199, Sar. 219 (only first line), Smṛ. 281.

113. Par. 202, Sar. 219, Smṛ. 281.

114. Vya. Mā. 333.

115. Smṛ. 287.

116. Smṛ. 297.

117. Smṛ. 226.

हस्तद्वयं निखेयं तु पादयोरुभयोरपि ।
षड्ढस्तं तु तयोः प्रोक्तं प्रमाणं परिमाणतः ।
तोरणे च तथा कार्यें पार्श्वयोरुभयोरपि ।।११८।।
धटादुच्चतरे स्यातां नित्यं दशभिरङ्गुलैः ।
अवलम्बौ च कर्तव्यौ तोरणाभ्यामधोमुखौ ।।११९।।
मृन्मयौ सूत्रसम्बद्धौ धटमस्तकचुम्बकौ ।
शिक्यद्वयं समासज्य पार्श्वयोरुभयोरपि ।।१२०।।
प्राङ्मुखान् कल्पयेदन्तान् शिक्ययोरुभयोरपि ।
पश्चिमे तोलयेत् कर्तॄनन्यस्मिन्मृत्तिकां शुभाम् ।।१२१।।
पिटिकां कारयेत्तस्मिन्निष्टकायां सलोष्टकैः ।
परीक्षका नियोक्तव्यास्तुलामानविशारदाः ।।१२२।।
वणिजो हेमकाराश्च कांस्यकारास्तथैव च ।
कार्यः परीक्षकैर्नित्यमवलम्बसमो धटः ।।१२३।।
उदकं च प्रदातव्यं धटस्योपरि पण्डितैः ।
यस्मिन्न प्लवते तोयं स विज्ञेयः समो धटः ।।१२४।।
तोलयित्वा नरं पूर्वं पश्चात्तमवतारयेत् ।
धटं तु कारयेन्नित्यं पताकाध्वजशोभितम् ।।१२५।।
तत आवाहयेद्देवान् विधिनानेन मन्त्रवित् ।
वादित्रतूर्यघोषैश्च गन्धमाल्यानुलेपनैः ।।१२६।।
प्राङ्मुखः प्राञ्जलिर्भूत्वा प्राड्विवाकस्ततो वदेत् ।
एह्येहि भगवन् धर्म अस्मिन् दिव्ये समाविश ।
सहितो लोकपालैश्च वस्वादित्यमरुद्गणैः ।।१२७।।

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118. Ap. 702, Par. 169, Mit. 544, Vī. 247, Vya. Ma. 57, Smṛ. 246.—Vī. and Smṛ. read: *hastadvayaṁ nikheyaṁ tu proktaṁ muṇḍakayor dvayoḥ.* Par. reads: *muṇḍakas tayoḥ.*—The third line only in Ap.; the second in Par., Vī. and Smṛ; Vya. Ma. knows only the first line.—In Mit. this and the following verses are attributed to "Pitāmaha, Nārada and others."

119-122. Ap. 702, Mit. 544 5.—Of verse no. 122 only the first line occurs in Mit. in a very different form: *piṭakaṁ pūrayet tasminn iṣṭakāgrāvapāṁsubhiḥ.*

123-127.—Ap. 702-3, Mit. 545.

तस्यार्थमभियुक्तस्य लेखयित्वा तु पत्रके ।
मन्त्रेणानेन सहितं कुर्यात्तस्य शिरोगतम् ॥१२८॥

आदित्यचन्द्रावनिलोऽनलश्च
द्यौर्भूमिरापो हृदयं यमश्च ।
अहश्च रात्रिश्च उभे च सन्ध्ये
धर्मश्च जानाति नरस्य वृत्तम् ॥१२९॥

इमं धर्मविधिं कृत्स्नं सर्वदिव्येषु योजयेत् ।
आवाहनं च देवानामथैनं परिकल्पयेत् ॥१३०॥
धट त्वं ब्रह्मणा सृष्टः परीक्षार्थं दुरात्मनाम् ।
धकाराद्धर्ममूर्तिस्त्वं टकारात् कुटिलो नृणाम् ॥१३१॥
धटो धारयसे यस्माद्धटस्तेनाभिधीयसे ॥१३२॥
अधोगतो न शुध्येत्तु शुध्येदूर्ध्वंगतस्तथा ।
समोऽपि न विशुद्धः स्यादेषा शुद्धिरुदाहृता ॥१३३॥
शिक्यच्छेदे अक्षभङ्गे भूयश्चारोपयेन्नरम् ।
एवं निःसंशयज्ञानात्ततो भवति निर्णयः ॥१३४॥
कक्षच्छेदे तुलाभङ्गे धटकर्कटयोस्तथा ।
रज्जुच्छेदेऽक्षभङ्गे वा दद्याच्छुद्धिं पुनर्नृपः ॥१३५॥

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128. Ap. 703, Mit. 546, Sar. 189.

129. Ap. 703, Mit. 546, Vī. Ṭī. 542, Sar. 190.

130. Ap. 703, Mit. 547, Sar. 190.—Attributed to Prajāpati in Sar.

131-132. Ap. 703, Mit. 547, Vī. Ṭī. 543, Sar. 190.—Attributed to Nārada in Sar.

133. Par. 174.

134. Par. 174, Sar. (first line only) 192.

135. Bāl. 368, Mit. 548, Vī. 254, Vya. Ma. 61, Sar. (anonymously) 192.—Vijñāneśvara reads: *rajjucchede ’kṣabhaṅge vā tathai ’vā ’śuddhim ādiśet,*

अग्निविधिः

प्राङ्मुखस्त ततस्तिष्ठेत् प्रसारितकराङ्गलिः ।
आर्द्रवासाः शुचिश्चैव शिरस्यारोप्य पत्रकम् ॥१३६॥
जात्यैव लोहकारो यः कुशलश्चाग्निकर्मणि ।
दृष्टप्रयोगश्चान्यत्र तेनायोऽग्नौ तु दापयेत् ॥१३७॥
अग्निवर्णमयःपिण्डं सस्फुलिङ्गं सुरञ्जितम् ।
पञ्चाशत्पलिकं भूयः स्नापयित्वा शुचिर्द्विजः ।
तृतीयतापे तप्यन्तं ब्रूयात् सत्यपुरस्कृतम् ॥१३८॥
सत्यवाक्यस्य चास्य त्वं शीतो भव हुताशन ।
मृषावाक्यस्य पापस्य दह हस्तौ च मायिनः ॥१३९॥

निष्कविधौ निष्कपरिमाणम्

पलान्यष्टौ सुवर्णस्य सुवर्णाश्च चतुर्दश ।
एतन्निष्कप्रमाणं तु व्यासेन परिकीर्तितम् ॥१४०॥

जलविधिः

सत्येन माभिरक्ष त्वं वरुणेत्यभिशप्य कम् ।
नाभिदघ्नोदकस्थस्य गृहीत्वोरू जलं विशेत् ॥१४१॥

वृद्धिः

सबन्धे भाग आशीतः षाष्ठो भागः सलग्नके ।
निराधाने द्विकशतं मासलाभ उदाहृतः ॥१४२॥
दोह्यवाह्यक्रियायुक्ता कायिका समुदाहृता ॥१४३॥
शाककार्पासवीजेक्षौ षड्गुणाः परिकीर्तिताः ।
वदन्त्यष्टगुणान् काले मद्यस्नेहरसासवान् ॥१४४॥

136-139. Sar. 196-7.

140. Par. 158, Vī. 235, Smṛ. 232.

141. Vya. Ma. 77. Identical with Yājñ. II. 108.

142. Par. 221, Vi. 7, Vi. Ci. 3, Vī. 296, Vya. Ma. 167, Smṛ. 361.—Corrupt reading in Vī. :—*sambandhe bhāga āśītaḥ ṣaṣṭho bhagaḥ* etc. Cf. Manu VIII. 140 ff.

143. Vi. 9, Vi. Ci. 4, Smṛ. 359.

144. Par. 228, Vī. 298-9, Vya. Ma. 170, Sar. 227, Smṛ. 373.

प्रातिभाव्यं भुक्तबन्धमगृहीतं च दित्सुतः ।
न वर्धते प्रपन्नस्य दमः शुल्कं प्रतिश्रुतम् ॥१४५॥

आधिः

आधयो द्विविधाः प्रोक्ताः स्थावरा जङ्गमास्तथा ।
सिद्धिरस्योभयस्यापि भोगो यद्यस्ति नान्यथा ॥१४६॥
कां चिद्वृद्धिं समाभाष्य द्रव्यमादाय तत्त्वतः ।
मत्क्षेत्रं भुङ्क्ष्व वृद्ध्यर्थमधिकं मूलनाशनम् ।
इत्यादिः प्रत्ययाधिः स्याद्द्वैगुण्ये निष्क्रयो भवेत् ॥१४७॥
ग्रहीतृदोषान्नष्टश्चेद्बन्धो हेमादिको भवेत् ।
ऋणं सलाभं संशोध्य तन्मूल्यं दापयेद्धनी ॥१४८॥
दैवराजोपघाते तु न दोषो धनिनः क्वचित् ।
ऋणं दाप्यं तु तन्नाशे बन्धं वान्यमृणी तदा ।
अन्यथा नश्यते लाभो मूलं वा नाशमाप्नुयात् ॥१४९॥
हिरण्ये द्विगुणीभूते पूर्णे काले कृतेऽवधौ ।
बन्धकस्य धनी स्वामी द्विसप्ताहं प्रतीक्ष्य तु ।
अतोन्तरा धनं दत्त्वा ऋणी बन्धकमाप्नुयात् ॥१५०॥
गोप्याधिर्द्विगुणादूर्ध्वं कृतकालः कृतावधिः ।
आवेदयित्वर्णिकुले भोक्तव्यस्तदनन्तरम् ॥१५१॥
गोप्याधिं द्विगुणादूर्ध्वं मोचयेदधमर्णकः ॥१५२॥

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145. Par. 225, Vi. 21, Vi. Ci. 7, Vī. 304, Smṛ. 366.—Vī. again shows corrupt reading : *na vardhate prayatnasya* etc. The reading *ditsavaḥ* for *ditutaḥ*, though well attested, is incomprehensible.

146. Mit. 489, Vi. 34, Vī. Ṭī. 488, Sar. 233, 236.—Attributed to Nārada excepting in Vi.

147. Sar. 233-4.

148. Ap. 659, Par. 236, Vi. 25, Vi. Ci. 11, Vī. 309, Vī. Ṭī. 487, Vya. Ma. 172, Smṛ. 328.

149. Par. 232, Vi. 26, Vī. 309, Vya. Ma. 173, Smṛ. 322.

150. Ap. 658, Par. 239, Mit. 486, Vi. 31, Vī. 315, Vī. Ṭī. 485, Sar. 240, Smṛ, 330.—Attributed to Bṛhaspati in Mit. and Sar. Cf. Bṛh. XI. 27-28.

151. Par. 240, Vya. Ma. 174.—Almost identical with Bṛh. XI. 26.

152. Vī. 318, Smṛ. 341.

फलभोग्यं पूर्णकालं दत्त्वा द्रव्यं तु सामकम् ॥१५३॥
यावत् प्रकर्षितं तत् स्यात्तावन्न धनभाग्धनी ।
ऋणी न लभते बन्धं परस्परमतं विना ॥१५४॥

ऋणविषयकाणि वचनानि

ऋणं पैतामहं पौत्रः प्रातिभाव्यागतं सुतः ।
समं दद्यात्तत्सुतौ तु न दाप्यौ इति निश्चयः ॥१५५॥
दण्डो वा दण्डशेषो वा शुल्कं तच्छेष एव वा ।
न दातव्यं तु पुत्रेण यच्च न व्यावहारिकम् ॥१५६॥
तपस्वी चाग्निहोत्री च ऋणवान् म्रियते यदि ।
तपश्चैवाग्निहोत्रं च सर्वं तद्धनिनो भवेत् ॥१५७॥
मिथ्याभियोगी द्विगुणमभियोगाद्धनं हरेत् ।
कारणे विधिरेष स्याज्जितस्यैकतरस्य तु ।
प्राङ्न्यायवादे च तथा यश्चासत्येन युज्यते ॥१५८॥

प्रतिभूः

लेख्येऽकृते च दिव्ये च दानप्रत्ययदर्शने ।
गृहीतबन्धोपस्थाने ऋणिद्रव्यार्पणे तथा ॥१५९॥
विप्रत्यये लेख्यदिव्यदर्शने चाऽकृते सति ।
ऋणं दाप्याः प्रतिभुवः पुत्रं तेषां न दापयेत् ॥१६०॥
दानवादप्रतिभुवो दाप्यौ तत् पुत्रकौ तथा ॥१६१॥

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153. Par. 243, Vī. 320, Sar. (anonymously) 241, Smṛ. 341.—To complete the sentence one has to supply, according to Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa, the last three words of verse 150.

154. Mit. 492, Smṛ. 345.—Closely resembling Bṛh. XI. 33, and in Mit. it is actually attributed to Bṛh.

155. Ap. 656, Par. 250, Mit. 481, Vi. 44, Vi. Ci. 14, Vī. 325, Vya. Ma. 177, Sar. 249, 252.

156. Vi. 34, Vi. Ci. 17, Sar. 257.

157. Vī. 357, Vya. Ma. 184, Sar. (anonymously) 252.

158. Vi. 77, Vi. Ci. 23, Vī. 360.—Ascribed either to Vyāsa or to Yājñavalkya in the sources. No uniform reading.

159. Par. 249, Vī. 323, Smṛ. 347.

160-161. Par. 251, Smṛ. 352.

निक्षेपः

स्थानत्यागाद्राजभयाद्दायादानां च वञ्चनात् ।
स्वद्रव्यमर्प्यतेऽस्य हस्ते निक्षेपमाह तम् ॥१६२॥
भक्षिते सोदयं दाप्यः समं दाप्य उपेक्षिते ।
किञ्चिन्न्यूनं प्रदाप्यः स्याद्द्रव्यमज्ञाननाशितम् ॥१६३॥
याचनानन्तरं नाशे दैवराजकृतेऽपि सः ।
ग्रहीता प्रतिदाप्यः स्यान्मूलमात्रं न संशयः ॥१६४॥
निक्षेपं निह्नुते यस्तु नरो बन्धुबलान्वितः ।
साक्षिभिर्वाथ दिव्येन विभाव्य प्रतिदाप्यते ॥१६५॥

दत्ताप्रदानिकम्

अन्धादिषु शतं दानमनन्तं दुहितुर्भवेत् ।
पित्रेत्र शतगुणं दानं सहस्रं मातुरुच्यते ।
भगिन्यां शतसाहस्रं सोदर्ये दत्तमक्षयम् ॥१६६॥

अस्वामिविक्रयः

याचितान्वाहितन्यासं हृत्वा वाऽन्यस्य यद्धनम् ।
विक्रीयते स्वाम्यभावे स ज्ञेयोऽस्वामिविक्रयः ॥१६७॥
निक्षिप्तान्वाहितं न्यासं हृतयाचितबन्धकम् ।
उपांशु येन विक्रीतमस्वामी सोऽभिधीयते ॥१६८॥
पूर्वस्वामी तु तद्द्रव्यं यदागत्य विधारयेत् ।
तत्र मूलं दर्शनीयं क्रेतुः शुद्धिस्ततो भवेत् ॥१६९॥

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162. Smṛ. 415.
163. Par. 283, Mit. 496, Vi. 91, Vi. Ci. 25, Vī. 364, Vī. Ṭī. 494, Sar. 268.—Vijñ. ascribes this verse to Kātyāyana.
164. Par. 283, Vī. 364.
165. Vī. 365, Smṛ. 421.
166. Sar. 283.
167. Ap. 775, Vi. 100, Vī. 374, Vya. Ma. 195, Smṛ. 8.
168-169. Ap. 775.

मूले समाहृते क्रेता नाभियोज्यः कथं च न।
मूलेन सह वादस्तु नाष्टिकस्य तदा भवेत् ॥१७०॥
यदि स्वं नैव कुरुते ज्ञातिभिर्नाष्टिको धनम्।
प्रसङ्गविनिवृत्त्यर्थं चौरवद्दण्डमर्हति ॥१७१॥
वादी चेन्मार्गितं द्रव्यं साक्षिभिर्न विभावयेत्।
दाप्यः स्याद्द्विगुणं दण्डं क्रेता तद्द्रव्यमर्हति ॥१७२॥

सम्भूयसमुत्थानम्

समक्षमसमक्षं वावञ्चयन्तः परस्परम्।
नानापण्यानुसारास्ते प्रकुर्युः क्रयविक्रयौ ॥१७३॥
अगोपयन्तो भाण्डानि शुल्कं दद्युश्च तेऽध्वनि।
अन्यथा द्विगुणं दाप्याः शुल्कस्थानाद्बहिःस्थिताः ॥१७४॥
परीक्षकाः साक्षिणश्च त एवोक्ताः परस्परम्।
सन्दिग्धार्थे वञ्चनायां न चेद्विद्वेषसंयुताः ॥१७५॥
यः कश्चिद्वञ्चकस्तेषां विज्ञातः क्रयविक्रये।
शपथैः स विशोध्यः स्यात् सर्ववादेऽप्ययं विधिः ॥१७६॥

स्वामिविषयः

स्नेहेन स्थण्डिलं लब्ध्वा मन्दिरं कुरुते तु यः।
निर्गच्छतस्तस्य दारु दत्तस्तोमस्य नान्यथा ॥१७७॥

स्वामिपालः

पालग्राहे ग्रामघाते तथा राष्ट्रस्य विप्लवे।
यत् प्रनष्टं हृतं वा स्यान्न पालस्तत्र किल्बिषी ॥१७८॥

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170. Ap. 776, Par. 295, Vi. 102, Vi. Ci. 27, Vī. 379, Vya. Ma. 196, Sar. 307, Smṛ. 503.

171. Vī. 377, Sar. 307.

172. Par. 298, Vi. 107, Vī. 377, Vya. Ma. 196, Smṛ. 505.

173. Ap. 832, Par. 304, Vi. Ci. 30, Vī. 384, Sar. 271, Smṛ. 431.—Attributed to Kātyāyana in Vi. Ci.

174. Par. 304, Vī. 384, Sar. 272, Smṛ. 431.

175-176. Sar. 272.

177. Ap. 801, Sar. 302, Smṛ. 480.

178. Ap. 772, Par. 374, Vi. 172, Vi. Ci. 52, Sar. 303, Smṛ. 485.

आक्रम्य यद्द्विजैर्भुक्तं परिक्षीणं च बान्धवैः ।
गोभिश्च नरशार्दूल वाजपेयाद्विशिष्यते ॥१७९॥
गृहीतमूल्यो गोपालस्तांस्त्यक्त्वा निर्जने वने ।
ग्रामचारी नृपैर्बाध्यः शलाकी च वनेचरः ॥१८०॥
मृतेषु च विशुद्धः स्याद्बालशृङ्गादिदर्शनात् ॥१८१॥

विक्रीयसम्प्रदानम्

सत्यङ्कारं च यो दद्याद्यथाकालं न दृश्यते ।
पण्यं भवेन्निकृष्टं तद्दीयमानमगृह्णतः ॥१८२॥
लाभार्थी वणिजां सर्वः पण्येषु क्रयविक्रयः ।
स च लाभोऽर्घमासाद्य महान् भवति वा न वा ॥१८३॥
तस्माद्देशे च काले च वणिगर्घं प्रकल्पयेत् ।
न जैह्म्येन प्रवर्तेत श्रेयानेवं वणिक्पथः ॥१८४॥

क्रीतानुशयः

चर्मकाष्ठेष्टकासूत्रधान्यासवरसस्य तु ।
वस्त्रकुप्यहिरण्यानां सद्य एव परीक्षणम् ॥१८५॥
त्र्यहाद्दोह्यं परीक्षेत पञ्चाहाद्वाह्यमेव तु ।
मणिमुक्ताप्रवालानां सप्ताहात् स्यात् परीक्षणम् ॥१८६॥
द्विपदामर्धमासं स्यात् पुंसां तद्द्विगुणं स्त्रियः ।
दशाहात् सर्ववीजानामेकाहाल्लोहवाससाम् ॥१८७॥

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179. Vī. 451, Vya. Ma. 221, Smṛ. 497.—As the vocative form *naraśārdūla* suggests, this verse very probably comes from a Purāṇa and not from any Smṛti.

180-181. Vī. 444.—If a piece of cattle dies of accident while in charge of the cowherd, the latter will have to produce the animal's tail, horn etc. to prove his innocence. How this evidence can prove the cowherd's innocence is not clear however. But see Manu VIII. 234.

182. Par. 370, Vi. 194, Vī. 441, Sar. 312, Smṛ. 516.

183-184. Sar. 312-313.

185. Par. 361, Vi. 198, Vi. Ci. 57, Smṛ. 517.

186-187. Par. 361, Vi. Ci. 57-58.

भूमेर्दशाहोऽनुशयः क्रेतुर्विक्रेतुरेव च ।
तात्कालिकास्तु सामन्तास्तत्काला धनिकास्तथा ।
तात्कालिकाः सपिण्डाश्च वेदनीयाः क्रये मताः ॥१८८॥
अतोऽर्वाक् पण्यदोषस्तु यदि संज्ञायते क्वचित् ।
विक्रेतुः प्रतिदेयं तत् क्रेता मूल्यमवाप्नुयात् ॥१८९॥

दासी

अन्यदीया तु या दासी दास्यन्यस्य न सा भवेत् ।
शुल्कं दत्त्वा तु तां गच्छेदगन्ता दास्यमर्हति ॥१९०॥

सीमा

निम्नोन्नता च ध्वजिनी नैधानी राजकारिता ।
स्थिता पञ्चविधा सीमा मत्स्यिनी तु चला स्मृता ॥१९१॥
ग्रामयोरुभयोर्यत्र गर्तः सीमाप्रवर्तकः ।
निम्नोपलक्षिता सा तु शास्त्रविद्भिरुदाहृता ॥१९२॥
शरकुब्जकवल्मीका यत्र देवगृहाणि च ।
अश्मकूटाश्च दृश्यन्ते सीमा सोक्ता समुन्नता ॥१९३॥
ग्रामयोरुभयोः सीम्नि वृक्षा यत्र समुन्नताः ।
समुच्छ्रिता ध्वजाकारा ध्वजिनी सा प्रकीर्तिता ॥१९४॥
तुषाङ्गारकपालैस्तु कुम्भैरायतनैस्तथा ।
सीमा प्रचिह्निता कार्या नैधानी सा निगद्यते ॥१९५॥
साक्ष्यभावाद्द्वयोर्यत्र प्रभुणा परिकल्पिता ।
सामन्तानुमता सीमा सा ज्ञेया राजकारिता ॥१९६॥

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188. Sar. 323.

189. Par. 361.

190. Sar. 295.—The first line offers a marvellous example of senseless tautology. The second line makes the strange assertion that the man who after paying the fee refrains from having sexual intercourse with a slave-girl deserves to be a slave! Have we to read *adattvā* for *agantā?*

191-193. Bāl. 781, Vi. 215.

194. Par. 386, Bāl. 781, Vi. 215, Vī. 452, Smṛ. 536.

195. Par. 386, Bāl. 782, Vi. 215, Vī. 452, Smṛ. 536.—Reading much different in Bāl. and Vi.

196. Bāl. 782, Vi. 215-216.

स्वच्छन्दगा बहुजला मत्स्यकूर्मसमन्विता ।
नित्यप्रवाहिनी यत्र सीमा सा मत्स्यिनी मता ॥१९७॥

कृष्टाकृष्टविनिर्णयः

क्षेत्रं गृहीत्वा यः कश्चिन्न कुर्यान्न च कारयेत् ।
स्वामिने स शदं दाप्यो राज्ञे दण्डं च तत्समम् ॥१९८॥
चिरावसन्ने दशमं कृष्यमाणे तथाष्टमम् ।
सुसंस्कृतेऽपि षष्ठं स्यात् परिकल्प्यं यथास्थिति ॥१९९॥

वाक्पारुष्यम्

पापोपपापवक्तारो महापातकशंसकाः ।
आद्यमध्योत्तमान् दण्डान् दद्युस्त्वेते यथाक्रमम् ॥२००॥

दण्डपारुष्यम्

भस्मादिना प्रक्षिपणं ताडनं च करादिना ।
आवेष्टनं चांशुकाद्यैर्दण्डपारुष्यमुच्यते ॥२०१॥

साहसः

प्रकाशाश्चाप्रकाशाश्च द्विविधास्तस्कराः स्मृताः ।
स्वचिह्नैरेव विज्ञेयाश्चारैस्तस्करवेदिभिः ॥२०२॥
प्रकाशापणसंस्थाश्च नानापण्योपजीविनः ।
प्रकाशवञ्चका ज्ञेया भिषक्प्रभृतयोऽपरे ॥२०३॥
साधनाङ्गान्विता रात्रौ विचरन्त्यविभाविताः ।
अविज्ञातनिवेशाश्च ज्ञेयाः प्रच्छन्नतस्कराः ॥२०४॥
उत्क्षेपकः सन्धिभेत्ता पान्थमुड् ग्रन्थिभेदकः ।
स्त्रीपुंगोऽश्वपशुस्तेयी चौरो नवविधः स्मृतः ॥२०५॥

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197. Par. 386, Bāl. 782, Vi. 215, Vī. 452, Smṛ. 536.
198. Ap. 767, Vi. 229, Vi. Ci. 65, Vī. 469, Vya. Ma. 469.
199. Ap. 769, Vi. 229, Vi. Ci. 65, Vī. 469.
200. Ap. 810, Da. Vi. 208, Vi. 256, Vi. Ci. 71-72.
201. Vi. Ci. 72, Vī. 471, Sar. 481, Smṛ. 761.—In Vi. Ci. and Sar. this verse is attributed to Kātyāyana and Bṛhaspati respectively.

202-203.—Vi. 289, 291.

204-205. Da. Vi. 121, Par. 438, Vi. 292, Vī. 492, Vya. Ma. 235, Smṛ, 737,

प्रकाशतस्करदण्डः

तुलामानविशेषेण लेख्येन गणनेन च ।
अर्थस्य वृद्धिह्रासेन मुष्णन्ति वणिजो नरान् ॥२०६॥
तद्द्रव्यसदृशैरन्यैर्हीनमूल्यैर्विमिश्रणम् ।
कुर्वन्त्यौपाधिकाश्चान्ये पण्यानां परिवर्तने ॥२०७॥
अनिच्छन्तमभूमिज्ञं संयोज्य व्यसने नरम् ।
अपकर्षन्ति तद्द्रव्यं वेश्याकितवशिल्पिनः ॥२०८॥
भिषजो द्रव्यभेदेन क्लेशयन्ति चिरं नरान् ।
व्याधिप्रकोपं कृत्वा तु धनं गृह्णन्ति चातुरात् ॥२०९॥
न्यायस्थाने गृहीत्वार्थमधर्मेण विनिर्णयम् ।
कुर्वन्त्युत्कोचकास्ते तु राजद्रव्यविनाशकाः ॥२१०॥
उत्कोचजीविनो द्रव्यहीनान् कृत्वा विवासयेत् ॥२११॥
स्त्रीपुंसौ वञ्चयन्तीह मङ्गलादेशवृत्तयः ।
गृह्णन्ति छद्मना चार्थमनार्यास्त्वार्यलिङ्गिनः ॥२१२॥
नैगमाद्या भूरिधना दण्ड्या दोषानुरूपतः ।
यथा ते नातिवर्तन्ते तिष्ठन्ति समये तथा ॥२१३॥

अप्रकाशतस्करदण्डः

सन्धिच्छेत्तानेकविधं धनं प्राप्नोति वै गृहात् ।
प्रदाप्य स्वामिने सर्वं हृतं शूले निवेशयेत् ॥२१४॥
स्त्रीहर्ता लोहशयने दग्धव्यो वा कटाग्निना ।
नरहर्ता हस्तपादौ छित्त्वा स्थाप्यश्चतुष्पथे ॥२१५॥

206-207. Vi. 293, Vi. Ci. 80.
208. Da. Vi. 105, Vi. 307, Vi. Ci. 84.
209. Ap. 824.
210. Da. Vi. 105, Par. 580, Vi. 307, Vī. 723, Smṛ. 772.
211. Par. 580, Vī. 723, Smṛ. 772.—Cf. Yājñ. II. 339.
212. Da. Vi. 119, Vi. 308, Vī. 492, Sar. 460, Smṛ. 736.
213. Da. Vi. 116, Vi. 315, Vī. 492, Smṛ. 736.
214. Da. Vi. 124, Vi. 316, Vi. Ci. 86, Sar. 461, Smṛ. 738.
215. Da. Vi. 125, Vi. 317-318, Vi. Ci. 86, Vī. 494, Vya. Ma. 236, Sar. 462, Smṛ. 739.

अश्वहर्ता हस्तपादा कटिं छित्त्वा प्रमाप्यते ।
पशुहर्तुरर्धपादं तीक्ष्णशस्त्रेण कर्तयेत् ॥२१६॥
बन्दिग्राहांस्तथावाजिकुञ्जराणां च हारिणः ।
प्रसह्य घातिनश्चैव शूलानारोपयेन्नरान् ॥२१७॥
पुरुषं हरतः प्रोक्तो दण्ड उत्तमसाहसः ।
सर्वस्वं हरतो नारीं कन्यां तु हरतो वधः ॥२१८॥
वाजिवारणबालानां चाददीत बृहस्पतिः ॥२१९॥
हस्त्यश्वरथगोवृषयानेषु राजपुत्रापहारवद्दण्डः ॥२२०॥
उत्क्षेपकग्रन्थिभेदौ सन्दंशेन वियोजयेत् ॥२२१॥
मध्यहीनद्रव्यहारी पुष्पमूलफलस्य च ।
दाप्यस्तु द्विगुणं दण्डमथवा पञ्च कृष्णलान् ॥२२२॥
अल्पधान्यापहरणे क्षीरे तद्विकृतौ तथा ।
स्वामिने तत्समं दाप्यो दण्डं च द्विगुणं नृपे ॥२२३॥
प्रत्याहर्तुमशक्तस्तु धनं चोरहृतं यदि ।
स्वकोशाद्धि देयं स्यादशक्तेन महीक्षिता ॥२२४॥

घातकान्वेषणम्

ज्ञात्वा तु घातकं सम्यक् ससहायं सबान्धवम् ।
हन्याच्चित्रवधोपायैरुद्वेजनकरैर्नृपः ॥२२५॥

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216. Ap. 895, Da. Vi. 132, Vi. 321, Vya. Ma. 236, Sar. 462, Smṛ. 739.

217. Smṛ. 723.

218. Bāl. 988, Vi. 318, Vi. Ci. 86.–Ascribed to Kātyāyana in Bāl.

219. Da. Vi. 130, Vi. 318.–The word *sarvasvam* has to be supplied here according to Caṇḍeśvara.

220. Vi. 318.–It is prose!

221. Da. Vi. 132, Vi. 321.

222. Da. Vi. 147, Vi. 325.

223. Vi. Ci. 89-90.

224. Ap. 641, Smṛ. 315.

225. Ap. 852, Da. Vi. 76, Par. 454, Vi. 378, Vi. Ci. 108, Vī. 501, Sar. 438, Smṛ. 723.

संग्रहः

संग्रहस्त्रिविधो ज्ञेयः प्रथमो मध्यमस्तथा ।
उत्तमश्चेति शास्त्रेषु तस्योक्तं लक्षणं पृथक् ॥२२६॥
अदेशकालसम्भाषा निर्जने च परस्त्रिया ।
कटाक्षावेक्षणं हास्यं प्रथमः संग्रहः स्मृतः ॥२२७॥
प्रेषणं गन्धमाल्यानां धूपभूषणवाससाम् ।
प्रलोभनश्चान्नपानैर्मध्यमः संग्रहः स्मृतः ॥२२८॥
शय्याशने विविक्ते तु परस्परमुपाश्रयः ।
केशाकेशिग्रहश्चैव ज्ञेय उत्तमसाहसः ॥२२९॥
गुप्तायाः संग्रहे दण्डो यथोक्तः परिकीर्तितः ।
इच्छन्त्यामागतायां तु गच्छतोऽर्धदमः स्मृतः ॥२३०॥
उपकारः क्रिया केलिः स्पर्शो भूषणवाससाम् ।
सहशय्यासनं चैव सर्वं संग्रहणं स्मृतम् ॥२३१॥
स्त्रियं स्पृशेददेशे यः स्पृष्टो वा मर्षयेत्तथा ।
परस्परस्यानुमतं सर्वं संग्रहणं स्मृतम् ॥२३२॥
बहुभिर्भुक्तपूर्वा या गच्छेद्यस्तां नराधमः ।
तस्य वेश्यावदिच्छन्ति दण्डनं न तु दारवत् ॥२३३॥
परोपरुद्धागमने पञ्चाशत्पणको दमः ।
प्रसह्य वेश्यागमने दण्डो दशपणः स्मृतः ॥२३४॥

226-229. Ap. 854 (only 226 and 227), Vi. 379-381, Vi. Ci. 109-110, Vī. Ṭī. 732-733, Smṛ. 17.—Vī. 505 quotes these verses in a much different form, giving as source both Vyāsa and Bṛhaspati; in fact they are almost identical with Bṛhaspati XXIII. 6-8.—Verse no. 227 appears in an expanded form in Vi. Ci.

230. Da. Vi. 50, 164, Vi. 392, Smṛ. 739.—Caṇḍeśvara explains: *yathokta uttamasāhasarūpaḥ.*

231-232. Ap. 855, Vi. Ci. 110.—Almost identical with Manu VIII. 357-358.

233. Ap. 860, Da. Vi. 188, Vi. 405, Vi. Ci. 121 (anonymous).

234. Ap. 860, Vi. 406, Vi. Ci. 120, Vī. 510, Smṛ. 750.

स्त्रीधर्मः

पूर्वोत्थानपरा दक्षा जघन्यासनशायिनी ।
अवाग्दुष्टानुकूला स्त्री भवेद्धि पुण्यकर्मणः ॥२३५॥
द्वारोपवेशनं नित्यं गवाक्षेण निरीक्षणम् ।
असत्प्रलापो हास्यं च दूषणं कुलयोषिताम् ॥२३६॥
दयितं यान्यदेशस्थं मृतं श्रुत्वा पतिव्रता ।
समारोहति शीर्षेऽग्नौ तस्याः शक्ति निवोधत ॥२३७॥
यदि प्रविष्टो नरकं वहुपाशैः सुदारुणैः ।
सम्प्राप्तो यातनास्थानं गृहीतो यमकिङ्करैः ।
तिष्ठते विवशो दीनो वेष्ट्यमानः स्वकर्मभिः ॥२३८॥
व्यालग्राही यथा व्यालं बलाद्गृह्णात्यशंकितः ।
तावद्भर्तारमादाय दिवं याति तपोवलात् ॥२३९॥
तत्र सा भर्तृपरमा स्तूयमानाप्सरोगणैः ।
क्रीडते पतिना सार्धं यावदिन्द्राश्चतुर्दश ॥२४०॥
मृते भर्तरि साध्वी स्त्री ब्रह्मचर्यव्रते स्थिता ।
स्नाता प्रतिदिनं दद्यात् स्वभर्त्रे सतिलाञ्जलीन् ॥२४१॥
कुर्याच्चानुदिनं भक्त्या देवतानां च पूजनम् ।
विष्णोराराधनञ्चैव कुर्यान्नित्यमुपोषिता ॥२४२॥
दानानि विप्रमुख्येभ्यो दद्यात् पुण्यविवृद्धये ।
उपवासांश्च विविधान् कुर्याच्छास्त्रोदितान् शुभे ॥२४३॥
लोकान्तरस्थभर्तारमात्मानं च वरानने ।
तारयत्युभयं नारी नित्यं धर्मपरायणा ॥२४४॥

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235. Vi. 422, Smṛ. 583.—The verses of this section should have been not from the lost Smṛti of Vyāsa but from some Purāṇa—as is clearly suggested by the vocative forms *śubhe* (verse 243) and *varānane* (verse 244).

236. Ap. 108, Vi. 430, Smṛ. 585.

237-240. Vi. 441-442, Vī. Ṭī. 152.—Verses 239-240 are ascribed to Śaṅkha and Aṅgiras in Mit. 154.

241-244. Dā. 227-228, Bāl. 594, Vī. 648.

पूर्वं मृता हरेदग्निमन्वारूढा हरेदघम् ।
भर्तुर्धनमभागे तु जीवन्ती सत्सु बन्धुषु ।।२४५।।
ब्रह्मघ्ने वा कृतघ्ने वा मित्रघ्ने यच्च दुष्कृतम् ।
भर्तुः पुनाति सा नारी तमादाय मृता तु या ।।२४६।।

विभागः

भ्रातॄणां जीवतोः पित्रोः सहवासो विधीयते ।
तदभावे विभक्तानां धर्मस्तेषां विवर्धते ।।२४७।।
क्रमागते गृहक्षेत्रे पितापुत्राः समांशिनः ।
पैतृके न विभागार्हाः सुताः पितुरनिच्छतः ।।२४८।।
समानजातिसंख्या ये जातास्त्वेकेन सूनवः ।
विभिन्नमातृकास्तेषां मातृभागः प्रशस्यते ।।२४९।।
असुतास्तु पितुः पत्न्यः समानांशाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।
पितामह्यश्च ताः सर्वा मातृतुल्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ।।२५०।।
असंस्कृतास्तु ये तत्र पैतृकादेव तद्धनात् ।
संस्कार्या भ्रातृभिर्ज्येष्ठैः कन्यकाश्च यथाविधि ।।२५१।।
स्थावरं द्विपदं चैव यद्यपि स्वयमर्जितम् ।
असम्भूय तु तान् सर्वान्न दानं न च विक्रयः ।।२५२।।
ये जाता येऽप्यजाताश्च ये च गर्भे व्यवस्थिताः ।
वृत्तिं च तेऽभिकाङ्क्षन्ति न दानं न च विक्रयः ।।२५३।।

245-246. Ap. 110.

247. Ap. 719, Dā. 42, Vī. 575, Smṛ. 606 (only the first line).

248. Ap. 728, Bāl. 458, Vi. 461, Sar. 375 (only the first line), Smṛ. 649-50.—Ascribed to Gautama in Bāl.

249. Par. 503, Bāl. 462, Vī. 576, Vya. Ma. 102.—In Bāl. the last Pāda is: *mātṛto bhāgakalpanā.*

250. Ap. 730, Dā. 93, Par. 502, Bāl. 460, 497, Vi. 484, Vi. Ci. 131, Vī. 579, Vya. Ma. 100, Sar. 357, Smṛ. 623.

251. Ap. 731, Par. 508, Vi. 493, Vi. Ci. 134, Vī. 580, Smṛ. 627.

252. Dā. 48, Vi. Ci. 161, Vī. 395.—Vi. Ci. mentions as source a Smṛti-text named Prakāśa which has been quoted also in Vī. Ṭī. 579.

253. Vi. Ci. 161, Vī. 395, Vya. Ma. 203.—On the source of Vi. Ci. see note to preceding verse.

स्थावरस्य समस्तस्य गोत्रसाधारणस्य च।
नैकः कुर्यात् क्रयं दानं परस्परमतं विना ॥२५४॥
विभक्ता अविभक्ता वा सपिण्डाः स्थावरे समाः।
एको ह्यनीशः सर्वत्र दानाधमनविक्रये ॥२५५॥
अनाश्रित्य पितृद्रव्यं स्वशक्त्याप्नोति यद्धनम्।
दायादेभ्यो न तद्दद्याद्विद्यालब्धं तु यद्भवेत् ॥२५६॥
विद्याप्राप्तं शौर्यधनं यच्च सौदायिकं भवेत्।
विभागकाले तत्तस्य नान्वेष्टव्यं स्वरिक्थिभिः ॥२५७॥
कृतेऽकृते वा विभागे रिक्थी यत्र प्रवर्तते।
सामान्यं चेद्भावयति तत्र भागहरस्तु सः ॥२५८॥
साधारणं समाश्रित्य यत् किञ्चिद्वाहनायुधम्।
शौर्यादिनाप्नोति धनं भ्रातरस्तत्र भागिनः ॥२५९॥
तस्य भागद्वयं देयं शेषास्तु समभागिनः ॥२६०॥
पितामहेन यद्दत्तं पित्रा वा प्रीतिपूर्वकम्।
तस्य तन्नापहर्तव्यं मात्रा दत्तं च यद्भवेत् ॥२६१॥
अविभाज्यं सगोत्राणामासहस्रकुलादपि।
याज्यं क्षेत्रं च पत्रं च कृतान्नमुदकं स्त्रियः ॥२६२॥
श्राद्धं मातामहानां तु अवश्यं धनहारिणा।
दौहित्रेणार्थनिष्कृत्यै कर्तव्यं विधिवत् सदा ॥२६३॥
पितुर्मातामहांश्चैव द्विजः श्राद्धेन तर्पयेत्।
अनृणः स्यात् पितृणां तु यज्वनां लोकमृच्छति ॥२६४॥

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254. Dā. 47, Vī. 549.
255. Dā. 47, Vi. Ci. 38, 161,
256. Dā. 146, Vi. 502, Vi. Ci. 135, Vya. Ma. 125, Sar. 368, Smṛ. 642.
257. Ap. 725, Dā. 147, 157, Par. 559, Vi. 499, Vya. Ma. 124, Smṛ. 636.
258. Smṛ. 643.
259-260. Ap. 725, Dā. 148, Par. 562, Vi. 499, Vi. Ci. 129, 137, Vya. Ma. 127, Smṛ. 640.
261. Dā. 156-157, Bāl. 496, Vi. 501, Vi. Ci. 135.
262. Dā. 175, Vi. 504, Vya. Ma. 130.
263-264. Sar. 426, 429.

स्त्रीधनम्

द्विसहस्रपणो दायः स्त्रियै देयो धनस्य तु ।
यच्च भर्त्रा धनं दत्तं सा यथाकाममश्नुयात् ॥२६५॥
विवाहकाले यत्किञ्चिद्वरायोद्दिश्य दीयते ।
कन्यायास्तद्धनं सर्वमविभाज्यं च बन्धुभिः ॥२६६॥
यत् कन्याया विवाहे च विवाहात् परतश्च यत् ।
पितृभर्तृगृहात् प्राप्तं धनं सौदायिकं स्मृतम् ॥२६७॥
यदा नेतुं भर्तृगृहे शुल्कं तत् परिकीर्तितम् ॥२६८॥

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265. Vi. 510, Vī. 691, Vya. Ma. 154, Smṛ. 653-654.—Vī. and Vya. Ma. read: *dvisāhasraḥ paro dāyaḥ* etc.

266. Dā. 101-102.

267. Sar. 378, Smṛ. 655.—According to Vya. Ma. 128, Vyāsa's definition of Saudāyika is:

> *ūḍhayā kanyayā vā 'pi patyuḥ pitur gṛhād api |*
> *bhrātuḥ sakāśāt pitror vā labdhaṁ saudāyikaṁ smṛtam ||*

268. Dā. 128, Bāl. 735, Vī. 690.

ERRATA.

In heading below verse 3 read *nirṇetṛ°*.
In verse 9 read *śucim*.
In foot-note to verse 72 read *yātī* for *yāti*.
In verse 80 read *āhartrā*.
In verse 88 read *°vāsinaḥ*.
In last line of foot-note to verse 83 read *svātantryāt*.
In second line of foot-note to verse 93 read *Jīmūta°*.
In verse 106 read *ekaḥ*.
In verse 121 read *prāṅmukhān*.
In verse 140 read *aṣṭau*.
In foot-note to verse 142 read *bhāgaḥ* for *bhagaḥ*.
In second line of foot-note to verse 145 read *ditsutaḥ* for *ditutaḥ*.
In verse 187 read *bījānām* for *vījā°*.
In verse 216 read *hastapādau*.
In verse read *bahupāśaiḥ*.

WERE THE VĀKĀṬAKAS DEFEATED BY THE GUPTAS IN *c.* 350 A.D. ?

By A. S. ALTEKAR

The relations between the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas towards the middle of the 4th century A.D. are still shrouded in considerable mystery. It seems reasonably certain that the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena I, who had assumed the imperial title *Samrāṭ,* continued to rule down to *c.* 335 A.D. He was succeeded by his grandson Rudrasena I, who continued to rule down to *c.* 360 A.D. Neither Rudrasena nor any of his successors however is seen to assume any imperial title in their records. It is further important to note that the Vākāṭaka official records are as particular in giving this title to Pravarasena as in omitting it in the case of his successors. So it is clear that the omission of the imperial title in the case of Rudrasena I and his successors is deliberate. On the other hand we find that king Candragupta I, who rose to power in *c. 320* A.D., was the first in his dynasty to take the imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja,* and it was continued without interruption in his family for several generations. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar therefore argued with considerable plausibility[1] that the dropping of the imperial title by Rudrasena I must have been obviously due to his having received a severe setback from a neighbour who claimed that title for himself. And this neighbour could have been no other than Candragupta I or his more ambitious and successful son Samudragupta. The rise of the Guptas to the imperial position must be vitally connected with the fall of Rudrasena I from that high status. The Vākāṭakas were the only obvious and serious obstacle in the path of the Guptas in their project of imperial expansion and Candragupta I must have gained the upper hand either by actual conquest or by slow expansion.

Additional interesting arguments had been advanced in favour of the above theory by the late Dr. Jayaswal. He argues that Pravarasena I had positively thwarted the imperial plans of Candragupta I by defeating and ousting him from Pāṭaliputra and putting his own nominee Kalyāṇvarman on its throne. Candragupta died in exile and, while on his death bed, charged his successor Samudragupta, to retrieve the fortunes of his family and to restore it once more to the imperial status that he had gained for it for some time. Samudragupta had however to bide his time; he was a mere Vākāṭaka feudatory ruling in Oudh during the first few years of his reign. It was during this period that he issued his Tiger Type coins, on which he does not dare to assume any imperial title; we see him contenting himself with the feudatory title of a mere *rājā*. Taking advantage of the death of the emperor Pravarasena, Samudragupta launched his offensive against his successor Rudrasena I, whom he overthrew and killed in a sanguinary battle fought near Kauśāmbī in 348 A.D. King Rudradeva of Āryāvarta, who figures first in the Allahabad record among the kings of northern India defeated and overthrown by Samudragupta, is no other than the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena I. Samudragupta eventually brought under his own sphere of influence the different kings in Chota Nagpur, Bundelkhand, Bagelkhand, Chattisgad and Āndhra country, who were once the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas. With their emperor killed in battle, and important provinces snatched from their empire, the Vākāṭakas sank into the position of Gupta feudatories; that is the reason why Rudrasena I and his successors are given the mere title of Mahārāja, which indicated the feudatory status, and never the higher title of *Samrāṭ* or *Mahārājādhirāja* which could be given only to an emperor.[2]

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[1] *A. B. O. R. I.,* Vol. IV, pp. 39-40.

There is no doubt that the case for a conflict between the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas, in which the latter were worsted, thus appears to be a very plausible one. But a careful examination of the problem shows that the arguments upon which it is based do not bear very close scrutiny. There is no evidence whatsoever to support the contention that Pravarasena I had ousted Candragupta I from Pāṭaliputra and put upon its throne his nominee Kalyāṇavarman.[3] As a matter of fact the incidents mentioned in the *Kaumudīmahotsava,* upon which Jayaswal mainly bases his theory, do not at all refer to the reign of Candragupta I. We cannot identify Caṇḍasena of this drama with Candragupta, the founder of the Gupta empire; the drama states that Caṇḍasena was killed along with all his children;[4] we know as a matter of certainty

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[2] Jayaswal, *History of India,* 150-350 A.D., pp. 80-2.

[3] It is true that Kalyāṇavarman is represented as being carried to Vindhya hills, where he attains his manhood in the course of time. But the drama does not at all suggest that he regained the throne with the help of any king ruling over the Vindhya territories; the entire credit is given to the loyal ministers of the father of Kalyāṇavarman, who strike at the opportune moment on behalf of the exiled prince.

[4] Act V.

that Candragupta left behind him a number of sons, one of whom ascended the throne. In the drama, Caṇḍasena appears as an exile. It is impossible to accept the contention of Dr. Jayaswal that in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, Candragupta appears as an exile on his death bed. Had Candragupta been an exile dying in misery and disgrace, his selecting Samudragupta as his successor would not have caused any jealousy in the hearts of other princes. The dejection which the formal announcement of Samudragupta as the next successor caused among his brothers would make it quite clear that the successor of Candragupta was not at all faced with the difficult and dangerous task of reasserting the imperial position of his house.

Nor is there any evidence to show that Samudragupta was a Vākāṭaka feudatory at the beginning of his career. His Tiger-slayer type of coins no doubt describe him as a mere *rājā*, but that need not necessarily show that he was a mere feudatory at the time when the coins were issued. If we follow this line of argument, we shall have to suppose that Candragupta II was also reduced to the feudatory status, because on his copper coins we find him having the simple feudatory title Mahārāja. Nay, on some coins, his name Candragupta alone appears without any title whatsoever.[5] Are we then to conclude that he had for some time ceased to be even a feudatory chief and was reduced to the position of a commoner? On the copper coins of Kumāragupta I the ruler concerned is given no regal titles at all. Are we then to conclude that he also had ceased to be a king or was a mere feudatory? The simple fact is that the extent of the space available on the Gupta coins usually determines the length of the legends on them. On copper coins, the space was small, and so even emperors like Candragupta II, who are never suspected to have been reduced to the feudal status, are seen content with the simple title Mahārāja. Sometimes they are seen without any titles at all. The legend *Rājā Samudraguptaḥ* occurs on the reverse of the Tiger-slaying type of Samudragupta. The legends on the reverse of Gupta coins are always short; longer legends like *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Samudraguptaḥ* were not inscribed there simply for want of space. The legend *Rājā Samudraguptaḥ, king* Samudragupta, occurring on the Tiger-slaying type of Samudragupta, can prove him to be a mere feudatory, only if the legend Candraguptaḥ occurring on the coins of Candragupta II can prove that he was not even a feudatory but a mere commoner at the time when he issued these coins. Both hypotheses are equally untenable. To conclude, we have no evidence whatsoever to show that Candragupta I was ousted by the Vākāṭakas towards the end of his reign or that his successor Samudragupta was a Vākāṭaka feudatory at the beginning of his career.

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[5] Allan, *Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pp. 54-60.

The theory that Samudragupta overthrew and killed the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena I is based upon the assumption that king Rudradeva who figures first among the kings of northern India (Āryāvarta) defeated by Samudragupta, is identical with the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena I. The superficial resemblance between the names of the two rulers does not however prove their identity. Rudradeva, overthrown by Samudragupta, was a king in Āryāvarta, or northern India; Rudrasena, the Vākāṭaka king, was a king of the Deccan. We must further remember that the Allahabad inscription is an eulogy (*praśasti*) of Samudragupta, describing his achievements in the most glorious colours. To heighten the effect on the reader's mind of the prowess of Samudragupta, it gives the full imperial title of the Kuṣāṇa ruler who had offered him only a nominal submission. If then Samudragupta was a mere Vākāṭaka feudatory, who had later avenged himself on his feudal lord for the humiliation inflicted upon him and his father by the Vākāṭaka emperors Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I, is it likely that the eulogy would have summarily dismissed this most glorious achievement of Samudragupta by merely including the name of Rudradeva among the nine kings of northern India overthrown by the hero? The defeat of Acyuta and Nāgasena, who were among the important opponents of Samudragupta but infinitely less powerful than the Vākāṭaka emperors, is described twice in the eulogy, once in poetry and once again in prose. Why then the most glorious achievement of Samudragupta, the defeat of the Vākāṭaka emperor, who according to Jayaswal, was ruling over practically the whole of India from Peshawar to Kanchi and Dwaraka to Patna, should have been summarily dismissed only in four letters? Why should not even the name of the dynasty of Rudradeva have been given? If Samudragupta had really defeated the Vākāṭaka emperor, there would certainly have occurred several verses in the Allahabad eulogy describing the great might of the Vākāṭakas and the skilful generalship by which Samudragupta defeated and killed the most deadly enemy of his family. If the imperial titles of the Kuṣāṇa emperor, who offered merely a nominal submission, are stated in order to heighten the effect of the prowess of Samudragupta, would not at least the imperial title of Rudradeva been given in order to emphasise the greatness of the achievement?

The fact is that there was not much of a clash between the spheres of influence of the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas.[6] Even in the southern expedition of Samudragupta, he did not come into any direct conflict with the Vākāṭakas. Otherwise we cannot at all explain why his Allahabad eulogy should not have mentioned even the name of the mighty Vākāṭakas, when the names of small contemporary kings or states are mentioned in it in one connection or the other. It is true that most probably during the reign of Pravarasena I, the rulers of southern Kośala and Andhra country were under the Vākāṭaka sphere of influence. But during the interval between the death of Pravarasena (*c.* 335 A.D.) and the invasion of Samudragupta (*c.* 360 A.D.), the kings of this territory had overthrown the Vākāṭaka suzereignty and become independent. Their nominal submission to Samudragupta during his southern expedition did not therefore amount to any serious infringement on the vested interests of the Vākāṭakas. Nor can we identify king Vyāghrarāja of the Great Forest who professed allegiance to Samudragupta with king Vyāghrarāja of Ganj, who was a Vākāṭaka feudatory. For, the former was a king in the Deccan, ruling to the *south* of the Vindhyas, while the latter was a king in Bundelkhand, ruling to the *north* of that mountain barrier.

There is another important consideration which goes against the theory that Samudragupta had defeated and killed the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena I. Had he really done so, and had he continued the feud in the next generation also by compelling Vyāghrarāja, one of the feudatories of Rudrasena's son Pṛthvīsena I, to transfer his allegiance to him, is it likely that Pṛthvīṣeṇa would have selected Prabhāvatīguptā, one of the grand-daughters of his bitterest enemy, as the bride for his son and successor Rudrasena II ? It is true that friendships and enmities in politics are short-lived; still it is extremely improbable in a Hindu royal family that a king would select as a bride for his son the grand-daughter of an enemy who had killed his own father.

It may be however asked, is it not significant that the Vākāṭakas should have ceased to assume imperial titles just after the *digvijaya* or conquests of Samudragupta ? Cannot the latter be then the cause of the former ? The dropping of the imperial title by Rudrasena could not have been a voluntary affair; it must obviously have been due to a defeat inflicted upon him by Samudragupta. This defeat reduced the Vākāṭakas to the status of the feudatories of the Guptas. Their official records are always careful to state that Pravarasena I was a *samrāṭ*, emperor. But all his successors are given the simple title of Mahārāja, which at this time denoted the feudatory status. Prabhāvatīguptā describes her father Candragupta II as a Mahārājādhirāja, but is content to give the mere status of Mahārāja to her husband, Rudrasena II. This must be obviously due to the fact that he was a feudatory of the Guptas.

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[6] It is true that Samudragupta was ruling over a portion of Saugar district in C. P. He did not reach this district via Sutna, Katni and Jubblepure, but via Kauśāmbī, Citrakūṭa and Kāliñjara. In the latter territory some Gupta inscriptions are found, but none in the former.

The above argument seems *prima facie* very convincing, but a careful examination of the contemporary documents shows that it is fallacious. The imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja* was a foreign title by the beginning of the 4th century A.D. The Guptas had borrowed it from the Kuṣāṇas along with their coinage. But it took several decades for the title to become popular in the Deccan and southern India. The Ikṣvāku king Cāntamūla, who had performed several Horse sacrifices (in *c.* 210 A.D.), was content with the simple title Mahārāja. He never suspected that it would be ever regarded as denoting a mere feudatory status. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin ruler Mādhavavarman I had performed 11 Horse sacrifices; he lived at a time when the title *Mahārājādhirāja* had become quite popular in northern India. And yet he is content with the simple title *Mahārāja*. In the vast majority of the official grants of the great Cālukya emperor Pulakeśin II, he is described as a mere *Mahārāja*; it is only from the time of his son Vikramāditya I (*c.* 650 A.D.) that the Cālukyas begin to describe themselves as *Mahārājādhirājas*. The title *Mahārāja* indicated the feudatory status only in northern India, but not in the Deccan or South India down to the middle of the 7th century A.D. The Pallavas, the Kadambas, and the Cālukyas, who were all independent rulers and had a number of feudatories under them, are content to describe themselves as mere *Mahārājas* in their official documents. The mere fact therefore that the successors of Pravarasena are described as mere Mahārājas does not at all prove that they were no longer independent rulers but had become the feudatories of the Guptas.

It may be however asked : The successors of Pravarasena I may not have adopted the title *Mahārājādhirāja* because it had not yet become popular in the Deccan and southern India; but why did they give up the imperial title *Samrāṭ*, which had been already adopted by Pravarasena ? The reasons for this change in title from *Samrāṭ*, emperor, to *Mahārāja*, king, are partly religious and partly political. Vājapeya was one among the sacrifices performed by Pravarasena I.

The sacred texts describe this sacrifice as a *Samrāṭ-sava, i.e.*, a sacrifice which entitles its performer to the title of *Samrāṭ*, emperor.[7] As none of the successors of Pravarasena I had performed this sacrifice, they could not assume the title of *Samrāṭ*, and had therefore to remain content with the title *Mahārāja*, which did not denote any feudatory status in the Deccan or Southern India. We must not further forget in this connection that the Vākāṭakas were orthodox Brāhmaṇas, and must therefore have felt that those among them who had not performed the Vājapeya should not presume to use the title of *Samrāṭ*.

There were also political reasons which must have induced the Vākāṭakas to forswear the imperial title *Samrāṭ*. The mighty kingdom, which Pravarasena I had raised during his lifetime, became divided into four sub-states after his death, each governed by one of his sons. This must have reduced the power and resources of the Vākāṭakas. In the meanwhile a new power, much stronger than any of the sub-states of the Vākāṭakas, had arisen in northern India and was claiming the imperial position and status. None of the successors of Pravarasena I was strong enough to challenge that power and perform the Vājapeya sacrifice in order to assume the title *Samrāṭ*. Within a short time the two houses contracted a matrimonial alliance and a daughter of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II became the crowned queen of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II in *c*. 385 A.D. This must have put a stop to all feeling of jealousy and rivalry between the two houses. It must be further noted that the text of the Vākāṭaka charters was first determined by Gupta secretariate officers during the regency of Prabhāvatīguptā; they were naturally disinclined to give the title Mahārājādhirāja to a protégé of their master. Later on when Pravarasena II modified this draft on attaining majority, he may have felt a natural disinclination to claim for his ancestors a title which was exclusively claimed by his quondam protector and guide, Candragupta II. He decided to give the title *Samrāṭ* to his namesake Pravarasena I, because he was entitled to it by the performance of the Vājapeya sacrifice. It could not be continued in the case of his successors because they had not performed the said sacrifice. Pravarasena saw no objection in describing them as Mahārājas, because that title still indicated independent status in the Deccan.

And finally it may be pointed out that the Paurāṇic evidence does not support the view that there was a break in the Vākāṭaka dynasty after the deaths of the four sons of Pravarasena, implying thereby that Rudrasena was killed in a war with Samudragupta. The Purāṇas state that Pravīra or Pravarasena will have four sons who will all rule after him and then add that when the Vindhyaka, *i.e.*, the Vākāṭaka family comes to an end, the Bāhlīkas, the Puṣyamitras, the Pātumitras, etc. will begin to rule.[8] This does not necessarily imply that the Vindhyaka family came to an end after the sons of Pravarasena; it only means that the Purāṇas do not narrate the history of their successors. To give an analogus instance, the Purāṇas state that the Guptas will rule over Allahabad, Patna and Ayodhyā,[9] a statement which is true of the Gupta kingdom under Candragupta I. This does not mean that the Gupta empire did not subsequently cover practically the whole of northern India; it only shows that the Purāṇas do not narrate the subsequent history of the Guptas. The same is the case about the Vākāṭaka rulers subsequent to the sons of Pravarasena. There is however clear epigraphical evidence to show that there was no such break in the Vākāṭaka dynasty subsequent to the death of Rudrasena I. For all the Vākāṭaka records state about his successor Pṛthvīṣeṇa I that the army and treasury of the Vākāṭakas were continuously increasing and prospering for about a hundred years at the time of his rule.[10] This positive statement renders the above inference from the silence of the Purāṇas altogether untenable and shows that the theory that the Vākāṭakas had received a crushing and stunning defeat just before the accession of Pṛthvīṣeṇa I is altogether untenable.

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[7] Cf. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 1. 1. 13: *rājā vai rājasūyena iṣṭvā bhavati, samrāḍ vājapeyena; avaraṁ, hi rājyaṁ, paraṁ sāmrājyam.*

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[8] Pargiter, *D. K. A.*, p. 50.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[10] *samuditavarṣaśatakālavardhamānakoṣadaṇḍa* etc.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF SOTER MEGAS AND HIS RELATION WITH WIMA KADPHISES

By BAIJ NATH PURI

The identification of Soter Megas has so far remained a mystery. At the same time his relation with Wima Kadphises has not seriously engaged the attention of scholars. The two important questions therefore, deserve consideration.

Here it may be pointed out that the extensive circulation of Wima Kadphises's coins suggests that he was a ruler of Northern India and as such he must have conquered some ruler who preceded him. In this connection we learn from the Chinese accounts[1] that Yen-Kao-chen who ascended the throne after Kieou-tsieou-kio, conquered Tien-chou (India) and appointed generals there who governed in the name of the Yue-chi. It has been accepted unanimously by scholars that Kieou-tsieou-kio refers to Kujula Kadphises and Yen-Kao-chen to Wima Kadphises. Kujula Kadphises did not penetrate into India because his coins are found only in Mānikiāla anad Taxilā. The regular conquest of India was started by Wima Kadphises. We have shown elsewhere[2] that Nahapāna, Caṣṭana and Jihoṇika were the Viceroys or Kṣatraps of Wima Kadphises. Now the question arises, who was the ruler of Northern India whom Wima Kadphises conquered and who was the Viceroy appointed by Wima Kadphises to govern this portion of his empire? We reserve the consideration of the second question for separate treatment after we have determined the identity of the ruler whom Wima Kadphises conquered. We have therefore to determine the identity of the ruler who was supplanted by Wima Kadphises.

From the Mathurā Lion Capital Inscription[3] of the time of Śoḍāsa we learn that he was ruling at Mathurā when Kusulukapatika was at Taxila. The date of Śoḍāsa according to the Amohini Tablet inscription[4] is 72 of the same era which we have assumed to be in the old Saka era of 66 B.C. As such the date of Śoḍāsa is 6 A.D. Śoḍāsa may have ruled till the year 15 or 20 A.D. and after him some minor ruler may have continued for a period of about 2-3 years. A fragmentary inscription[5] found by Prof. Vogel on the site of Ganeshra near Mathurā mentions the name of a Kṣatrapa of the Kṣaharāta family called Ghataka. Therefore we may roughly fix 20 A.D. as the date of the extinction of this Kṣaharāta family of Rājula and Śoḍāsa. Now who supplanted the dynasty of Śoḍāsa after about 20 A.D.?

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[1] J. A. July-Dec. 1883 p. 324.
[2] J. I. H.—Dec. 1941 pp. 275 ff.
[3] C. I. I. Vol. II pt. I p. 30.
[4] E. I. Vol. II p. 199 No. II.

At present we shall consider two inscriptions in this connection. The first one popularly known as the Lucknow Museum Inscription[6] was discovered by Führer during his excavations at Kaṅkālī Tīlā in Mathurā and was published in many journals. The Second inscription[7] is incised on a round piece of stone which was recovered from the Girdharpur Tīlā. Both inscriptions were recently considered and edited by Prof. H. Lüders in the Ācāryapuṣpāñjalī[8] dedicated to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. The first inscription is dated in the year 292 (or 299) of some era and is of the time of some Mahārāja Rājātirāja while the second inscription, namely the Girdharpur record, is dated in the year 270 of some Māhārāja. From the dates of these two records, it appears that the era employed in them was the same, and possibly the ruler too. He was at first a Mahārāja and later became a Mahārāja Rājātirāja. The question then arises: what era are these inscriptions to be referred to? Prof. Lüders in his brilliant article has pointed out[9]: "The choice of the Parthian era for dating the two records will perhaps appear less surprising if we bear in mind that at least some of the donors evidently were foreigners. It is true, not much can be asserted in this respect as regards the Girdharpur inscription, but as I have remarked above, it is not improbable that the donatrix is called there the daughter of a man who bears the Iranian name of Balana. It is different with the Jain inscription. Okharikā, Ujhatikā and Okhā proved by their names to have been foreigners. Okharikā and Okhā are presumably Greek names, but that would not preclude their bearers from being Iranians as we know that a strong predilection for Hellenistic culture was prevailing in the countries subject to Parthian rule. May we then assume that there were Parthians at Mathurā who had immigrated during the rule of the Kṣatraps and who, although they were converted to the Jaina faith, upheld the traditions of their native country?" Accordingly Prof. Lüders has suggested that the dates should be referred to in the Parthian era of 247 B.C. In support of his contention the German scholar[10] observed earlier in that paper: "In my opinion the suggestion that the dates refer to a foreign and probably the Parthian era is supported by styling the years simply years of the Mahārāja or of the Mahārāja Rājātirāja without adding a personal name. This strange mode of denoting the era has a parallel in Greek documents dated according to the Parthian era. In his masterly work 'The Greeks in Bactria and India' p. 65, W.W. Tarn states that, when the Parthian kings had imitated the Selucid era with one of their own, even under Parthain rule both Babylonia and the Greek cities kept to the Seleucid dating, though in Babylonia regularly, and among Greeks sometimes, both calendars were used as double dating, the Arsacid in that case being called by Greeks 'as the king reckons' and the Seleucid 'by the former reckoning'. Does not the term 'of the Great king' or 'of the Greek King, the King of Kings', sound like the Suddan equivalent of the Greek 'as the King reckons?' "

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[5] E. I. Vol. IX p. 138.

[6] Bühler. Academy Vol. XLIX p. 367=J. R. A. S. 1896 p. 578=V. O. J. Vol. X pp. 171 f., I. A. Vol. XXXVI p. 33.

[7] Mathura Museum Label No. 1315.

[8] D. R. Bhandarkar Volume pp. 281 ff.

[9] ibid p. 288.

The above suggestion of Prof. Lüders can be accepted on other grounds also. The Indo-Parthian era of 66 B.C. in which all the Pre-Kaniṣka records are dated would have suited alright but in that case the English equivalent dates would be considerably prolonged which on paleographic grounds would not be possible. Further if the two records are dated in the Indo-Parthian era of 66 B.C. their English equivalent dates would be (299, 270)—66=233, 204 A.D. which according to our calculations would conflict with the period of Vāsudeva Kuṣāṇa. We have therefore no alternative but to accept Prof. Lüders' suggestion that the two dates should be referred to the Parthian era of 247 B.C. and as such, they would correspond to (270, 299)—247 B.C. =23,52 A.D. This fits in excellently. We have shown that the Kṣaharāta family eclipsed in 20 A.D. and therefore this Mahārāja Rājātirāja usurped power at Mathurā after A.D. 20 and continued to rule at least up to 52 A.D. though there are greater chances of his continuing for some time more. The identity of this unknown ruler may now be established.

Now the only ruler whose identity is still a mystery and who certainly used bigger titles like 'Mahārājasa Rājātirājasa Mahatasa tradatasa' was Soter Megas, the nameless king. He also used the Greek title BASILEYS BASILEYON SOTER MEGAS[11]. These titles indicate that the person concerned was a ruler and not a Viceroy. As such the assumption of Kennedy[12] and others[13] that this nameless king who is supposed to have ruled contemperaneously with Wima Kadphises must have been his deputy employed to administer the Indian Provinces, is hardly tenable. The coins of this ruler are found throughout the Kuṣāṇa dominions, but his name is nowhere mentioned. His coins are associated with those of Heraus and still more closely with Wima Kadphises.[14] Further this nameless king, popularly called Soter Megas, and Wima Kadphises have many common pecularities which were noted by Sir Alexander Cunningham[15]. Thus both Wima Kadphises and Soter Megas use the title BASILEYS BASILEYON SOTER MEGAS and secondly both make use of a circular margin composed of reels and pellets, in place of the native legends. Again Wima Kadphises holds a club upright before his face. The nameless king also does the same. Lastly, as noted by Cunningham, both use the same peculiar form of the Gandharian letter 'j' i.e. the form which has a small stroke to the right at the foot of its starting vertical stroke. Besides these similarities there are two coins which are noteworthy. There is a single unique specimen on copper without legends but bearing the symbol of Wima Kadphises together with a symbol which is probably that of Soter Megas.[16] It is in poor condition and it has three prongs instead of four as on the symbol of Wima Kadphises. There is another unique specimen published by Cunningham where two heads appear on a single bust with the respective symbols of Wima Kadphises and the nameless king.[17] It therefore appears that Wima Kadphises and this nameless king cannot be separated by a long period, but they must have been more or less contemporaries. Now as the coins of both these rulers are found in the same regions and generally at the same place it necessarily follows that they must have been somehow related together. This relation cannot be one of the overlord and the deputy or Viceroy as assumed by many scholars, otherwise the same titles would never have appeared. We have shown that Nahapāna and Caṣṭana who were acting as the Viceroys of Wima Kadphises were mere Kṣatraps. It is only when they declared their independence that they assumed the higher title of Mahā-Kṣatrapa. This consideration is therefore out of question.

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[10] ibid p. 288.

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[11] Whitehead Cat. Vol. I p. 161 Nos. 100, 101.
[12] J. R. A. S. 1913 p. 663.
[13] Rapson: Indian coins § 67 pp. 16-17.
[14] J. R. A. S. 1912 p. 677.
[15] Coins of the Kuṣāṇas N. C. Ser. iii XII p. 33.
[16] ibid pl. XV 14.
[17] Ref. 42.

Now the other two possibilities could be that either Wima Kadphises had supplanted this nameless king or vice versa. The latter presumption is rebutted by the fact that Jihoṇika or Zeionises succeeded Wima Kadphises and so the question of Soter Megas supplanting Wima does not arise. Further the extensive circulation of the coins of this unknown ruler suggests that he should have ruled for a very long time which is not possible if we place him between Wima Kadphises and Kaniṣka. Again if Soter Megas had supplanted Wima Kadphises naturally he had to meet his fate at the hands of Kaniṣka, but his coins are not found in association with those of Kaniṣka. On the other hand, they are found in association with those of Heraus and Wima Kadphises—a point which is already referred to earlier. This means that this nameless king was ruling a little earlier than Wima Kadphises which *suits excellently*. We do not know who ruled in Mathurā after the extinction of Śoḍāsa's family till the accession of Wima Kadphises, that is to say, between 20-78 A.D. This nameless ruler can therefore be easily accommodated there and he should *be identified with the Mahārāja and the Mahārāja Rājātirāja of the two inscriptions which we have just considered*. As such it stands to reason that the nameless ruler of the inscriptions and the coins was the same. He seems to be a foreigner who came to power after the extinction of Śoḍāsa's family sometime about 22-3 A.D. and must have ruled for a sufficiently long period. It is however clear from the Lucknow Museum inscription of the year 299 that he was definitely ruling in the year 52 A.D., but we would rather presume that he continued to rule till the year 78 A.D. when he was supplanted by Wima Kadphises. We have therefore come to the conclusion that Soter Megas was none else than the Mahārāja Rājātirāja of the Girdharpur and the Mathurā Museum Inscriptions and he ruled as a ruler from the year 24 A.D. to 78 A.D. when he was defeated by Wima Kadphises who appointed somebody else as his viceroy. This is another question on which we shall try to throw some light some other time.[18]

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[18] The initial year of the old Śaka era has been discussed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in a paper 'The Indo-Parthian Dynasty of Vonones' published in Indian Culture Vol. VII No. 2 p. 133 ff. He has gladly accepted my suggestion that 66 B.C. suits excellently. The relation of Wima Kadphises with Nahapāna and Caṣṭana and their dates has been discussed by me in Journal of Indian History Dec. 1941 pp. 275 ff.

MISCELLANEA

(I)

PSYCHOLOGICAL VALUE OF THE DOCTRINE OF REBIRTH IN KĀLIDĀSA

For Kālidāsa as for all orthodox Hindu thought the doctrine of rebirth was as much a postulate of Nature as the rising and setting of the sun. What part did it play in the synthesis of human experience presented in his epic and dramatic poetry?

CORRECTION.

Omit lines 1—20 and foot note 10 from "A Note on the Basim Copper-plate Inscription of Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti II" by Dr. D. C. Sircar published *above,* Vol. VIII, No. 4, pp. 394-96."

practical results of secretive counsel and the outcome of previous influences on personality[3]—*saṁskārāḥ prāktanāḥ,* definitely a technical term from a philosophical system.

Similarly, association in a previous existence may account for some at least of the inexplicable affections and emotions to which mankind is liable[4]. "For the mind is aware of contact in a previous life" exclaim the admiring womenfolk of bride and bridegroom; and in the well-known passage in Śakuntalā these previous contacts account for the sudden waves of distraction or melancholy which overwhelm the sub-conscious in pleasant places when the soil remembers "Friendships of a previous existence firm in its being[5]".

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1. Ragh: XVIII 50.
2. K. S. I. 30.
3. Ragh. I 20.
4. Ragh. VII 5.
5. Śak. V 2.

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In the first place it leads directly to the conception of education as recollection of a previous existence, which was adopted in Western philosophy by Plato. The Prince Sudarśana acquires the three branches of knowledge with no trouble to his teachers "as if remembering his thorough vision of them in a previous existence[1]"; and the same thought re-appears more positively in the education of the girl Pārvatī to whom "in her hour of instruction there came the things known in a previous birth like swans re-assembling on an autumn river[2]". It is not so much the educational process, however, as the influence of a previous life on personality and character, or one should say rather the continuance of the ,earlier life in the personality of the latter which is contemplated in the analogy between the practical results of secretive counsel and the outcome of previous influences on personality[3]—*saṁskārāḥ prāktanāḥ,* definitely a technical term from a philosophical system.

Similarly, association in a previous existence may account for some at least of the inexplicable affections and emotions to which mankind is liable[4]. "For the mind is aware of contact in a previous life" exclaim the admiring womenfolk of bride and bridegroom; and in the well-known passage in Śakuntalā these previous contacts account for the sudden waves of distraction or melancholy which overwhelm the sub-conscious in pleasant places when the soil remembers "Friendships of a previous existence firm in its being[5]".

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The analogy between this passage and Wordsworth's response to the beauties of nature in the Ode on Immortality "Something that still remembers what was so fugitive" is obvious; but it is important to stress the difference. The Sanskrit poet is thinking not of the vague glories of some world visioned in a previous life, immortal seas and children on the shore, clouds of glory and so on, but quite definitely and precisely of a personal contact in a previous existence brought to the surface of the sub-conscious by scenic associations in this life. The same thought is echoed with less poetry but more particular relevance in the picture of the young Rāma affected by recollection of his deeds in a former life on visiting the holy places of Viṣṇu[6].

In the above examples the idea of re-birth has no ethical influence for better or worse on human experience. It is otherwise in its application to the realities of misfortune and sorrow. There can be no no doubt, I think, that in the mind of Kālidāsa genuine consolation was to be found for the inexplicable and undeserved affliction in the thought of its inevitability as the result of previous activities. The mystery of her desertion finds its solution for Sītā in "the irresistible thundering of her sins in a previous existence[7]." (The imagery underlying the curious word "visphūrjita" interpreted by Mallinātha in the sense of "noise", is probably that of surf breaking on the sea-coast, the outcome of the long swell of the wave; c.p. Ragh: XIII 12). Similarly on a less tragic level Śakuntalā finds an excuse for her lover's forgetfulness in the supposition that time was ripe for fulfilment of some earlier deed that thwarted merit (with feminine obtusity to the more obvious alternative that it was something she had done or not done in this life which caused the trouble)[8].

But it is in its application to the tragedy of death and of parting that the doctrine goes deepest into human experience. It would be difficult to say exactly what view Kālidāsa took as to the continuity of personal existence after death. He permits the thought of reunion hereafter as a consolation for parting, as in Sītā's prayer "Mayest thou be my husband again in a future existence[9]", and allows the conventional re-assembly of husband and wife in the realm of Svarga[10]. The same theme occurs in Rati's lament for Kāma in the Kumārsambhava, the artificiality of which is heightened by the jealousy of the Heavenly rivals[11]. Yet few will believe that Kālidāsa's ideas of Svarga represent more than acceptance for literary purposes of an established convention. The idea of reunion in Heaven, which has in fact exercised a consolatory influence in Western thought[12], is something quite different from that of continuance of individuality conditioned by Karma; and was, one feels, to cultured Hindu thought of Kālidāsa's time no more than a literary ornament. The true feeling of the poet in this matter corresponds no doubt with the sterner consolation put into the mouth of Vasiṣṭha's pupil, that for all our tears there is no resurrection and no reunion, howsoever the immortal element in individuality continues in existence. "Not even in death can she be recovered, for the paths of mortals who partake of the other world go different ways according to their deeds[13]".

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[6] Ragh: XI 22.
[7] Ragh: XIV 62.
[8] Śak. VII 23|24.
[9] Ragh: XIV 66.
[10] Ragh: VIII 95 & XVII 7.

For Kālidāsa individuality was continuous, but not consciously continuous; nor did its continuity tend to renewal of the casual contacts of worldly existence. Deep in each individual personality lies the fact of previous experience, which stirrings of the sub-conscious may bring to the surface; but which can create no permanent bond between beings associated, for however long and with whatever depth of affection, in each transitory phase of human life.

C. W. GURNER

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[11] K. S. IV 20.

[12] C. P. Stapledon *Philosophy & Living* (1939) p. 24: "For amongst man's chief motives for desiring immortality is the hope of meeting again in the other world human beings whom he has loved in this world".

[13] Ragh: VIII 85.

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(2)

MEANING OF *ANUDHYĀTA*

In an interesting comment on my interpretation of the expression *pādānudhyāta* occurring in inscriptions, Dr. B. K. Ghosh points out that the word *anudhyāta* is used in the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 127, 19: **तमनुध्यातमालक्ष्य**) in the sense of "steeped in meditation" (*Ind. Cult.*, VIII, p. 407). Here *anudhyāta* from *anudhyai*+Kartṛvācye *kta* (cf.. *cintita*) means *anudhyāna-yukta*, "meditating", "reflecting", "anxious", In my *Select Inscriptions,* Vol. I, p. 271, n.6, I have remarked: "The word *anudhyāta* is usually taken to mean 'meditating on'. But in many cases it certainly means 'favoured'. See the Tāḷagunda inscription *(infra);* also my note in *J. A. H. R. S.,* X, 1937, p. 229; *Suc. Sāt.,* 1939, p. 239". Dr. Ghosh thinks that the meaning "favoured" as alternately suggested by me "cannot be accepted straightway, if only because it departs too far from the sense attaching to the basic root *dhyā.* In rare cases the meaning 'permitted' may have to be accepted on circumstantial evidence. But even then it will have to be explained how this peculiar sense grew out of the original one evident in the *Mahābhārata* passage quoted above".

Now the basic meaning of the root *anudhyai* is "to consider attentively", "to think of", "to muse", "to be anxious". But as the object of one's affection, favour or veneration demands one's constant thought or meditation, the root even from an early period began to be used also in the sense "to wish well of", "to bless", "to favour".

Anudhyai=to bless; *Raghuvaṃśa,* XIV, 60:[1]

श्वश्रूजनं सर्वमनुक्रमेण
विज्ञापय प्रापितमत्प्रणामः ।
प्रजानिषेकं मयि वर्त्तमानं
सूनोरनुध्यायत चेतसेति ॥

Anudhyai=to favour, to wish well of; *ibid.* XVII, 36:[2]

अयोध्यादेवताश्चैनं प्रशस्तायतनार्चिताः
अनुदध्युरनुध्येयं सान्निध्यैः प्रतिमागतैः ॥

The Tāḷagunda inscription belonging to the fifth century A.D., which is possibly also the time of the composition of Kālidāsa's *Raghu-*

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[1] "You, as the conveyor of my respects, request all the mothers-in-law in their due order that they should mentally wish well of the embryo that is in me from their son." Mallinātha (c. 1400 A.D.): *cetasā 'nudhyāyata śivam astu iti cintayata.*

[2] "And the several deities of Ayodhyā that were worshipped in spacious temples received, by means of their presence in the form of images, with grace him who deserved favour." Mallinātha explains: *anudhyeyam anugrāhyam.... anudadhyur anujagṛhuḥ; "anudhyānam anugrahaḥ" ity Utpalamālāyām; tad anugrahabudhyā saṁnidadhur ity arthaḥ.* The Utpalamālā, quoted by the commentator, cannot possibly be a work of a later date than the 14th century A.D. Cf. also Uttararāmacarita, I: *snuṣāyām anudhyānaparā bhava.*

vaṃśa, uses the root in the modified sense (cf. *Select Inscriptions,* p. 453 and n.3):

विबुधसंघमौलिसंमृष्टचरणारविन्दष्षडाननः ।
यमभिषिक्तवाननुध्याय सेनापतिं मातृभिः सह ॥

It should be noted that the word *yam* in the verse refers to Mayūraśarman (middle of the fourth century A.D.), progenitor of the Kadamba family, and that the Kadamba kings are often described as **महासेनमातृगणानुध्यात** and sometimes also as **महासेनमातृगणानुध्याताभिषिक्त ।** There is therefore absolutely no doubt that the word *anudhyāta* could be used to mean "favoured" or "blessed" as early as the fifth century A.D. The case of *anudhyāta* is the same as that of *cintita,* both words having similar meanings. Cf. **चिन्त् + कर्तरि क्त = चिन्तित** i.e. **चिन्तायुक्त,** anxious, reflecting. **चिन्त् + कर्मणि क्त = चिन्तित,** thought of (cf. **यच्चिन्तितं तदिह दूरतरं प्रयाति यच्चेतसा न गणितं तदिहाभ्युपैति**). **चिन्त् + भाववाच्ये क्त = चिन्तित** thought; reflection. Similarly, **अनुध्यै + कर्त्तरि क्त = अनुध्यात** i.e. **अनुध्यानयुक्त,** meditating, favouring, etc. **अनुध्यै + कर्मणि क्त = अनुध्यात,** meditated on, favoured, etc. **अनुध्यै + भावे क्त = अनुध्यात,** meditation, act of favour, etc. Expressions like **अमुकानुध्यात** would mean **अमुकेन अनुध्यातः** (favoured or thought of by so-and-so), **अमुकस्य अनुध्यातः** (favoured object of so and-so), **अमुके अनुध्यातं (अनुध्यानं) यस्य** (having one's thought or favour in so-and-so), etc. etc. I have not noticed *anudhyāta* used in the sense of "permitted" as suggested by Dr. Ghosh.

I have recently noticed that the late Prof. Sylvain Lévi interpreted the expression **बप्पपादानुध्यात** as "son père adoré le suit de sa pensée" (*Le Népal,* III, 1908, p. 64). At p. 105 (n.7) of the work cited, Lévi further says, "Mallinātha, commentant *Raghuv.* XVII, 36 glose *anudadhyuḥ* par *anujagṛhuḥ* et cite à l'appui le dictionnaire d' Utpala, *Utpalamālā,* qui dit: **अनुध्यानमनुग्रहः** Ainsi *anudhyāta* fait exactement pendant à *anugṛhīta* de la formule précédente et sans doute a la même valeur". I am glad to note that the French savant suggested as early as 1908 the same meaning that was offered by me in 1937.

In this connection the meaning suggested by Lévi of the word *parigṛhīta,* found in inscriptions for the usual *anudhyāta,* is interesting to note. He translates the expression as "admis par adoption dans la

famille" (*ibid.*, p. 86, n.3) and says, "Le mot *parigraha* désigne l'admission dans la famille et par suite il s'applique à l'epouse et à la 'familia'. *Pravarāāhyāya* (Weber, Cat. Berlin. Hss., I, 59) l'applique même expressément à l'adoption: अथ दत्तकक्रीतककृत्रिकपुत्रिकाः परिग्रहेण नानार्षेयेण जाता ... et il oppose le père qui a engendré *utpādayitar* au père qui a adopté *parigrahītar* (पूर्वः प्रवर उत्पादयितुरुत्तरः परिग्रहीतुः), Kullūka commentant Manu IX, 68 sur l'adoption, appelle également le père adoptif *parigrahītar* (मातापितरौ परस्परमनुज्ञाय यं पुत्रं परिग्रहीतुः समानजातीयं ...)". This interpretation would make Candragupta II who was समुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परिगृहीतः as well as महादेव्यां दत्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नः an adopted son of Samudragupta (cf. Lévi, *loc. cit.*) Such a view can hardly be accepted in the present state of our knowledge. *Parigṛhīta* seems to have indicated the acceptance of an appointment or a position (cf. Select Inscriptions, p. 338, n).

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

(3)

"PĀDĀNUDHYĀTA"

Though it is against the policy of "Indian Culture"—and indeed against the fixed convention respected by all research journals—to publish comments on a *review* that appeared in it before, yet, in view of the unusual importance attaching to the interesting inscriptional term *pādānudhyāta*, the above note by Dr. D. C. Sircar has been published here. Under the circumstances, I too may perhaps be permitted to make a few observations in defence of my position, though that too, strictly speaking, will be unconventional:—

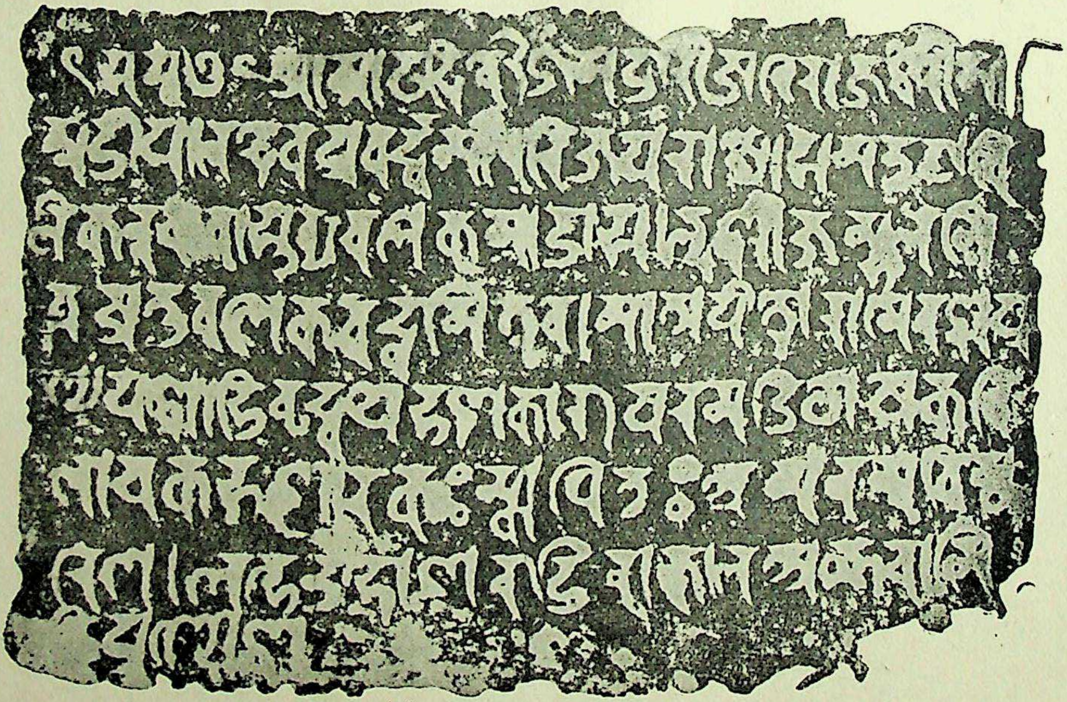
I am not a little surprised to see that Dr. Sircar has understood me to say that the compound verb *anudhyā* always has a medial meaning. It should be quite clear from what I said in the review that what I object to is the tacit assumption of an exclusively active meaning for "*anudhyā*". By the way, who in his senses can suggest that the meaning of "*anudhyā*" is exclusively medial? From the Vedic period onwards "*anudhyā*" has been used almost exclusively in the active sense as Böhtlingk and Roth have convincingly demonstrated in their *Wörterbuch*. It is precisely because of this that I made a special note of medial *anudhyā* when I came upon the Mahābhārata passage in course of my reading. I have therefore to say that if by quoting the two passages of the Raghuvaṃśa Dr. Sircar has tried merely to prove that *"anudhyā"* may have an active meaning, then his labour has been completely superfluous. But if by means of these two passages he has tried to prove that *"anudhyā"* can be charged with such disparate meanings as "to wish well of" which may be medial and also "to favour" which is certainly active, then I must protest. In both the passages of the Raghuvaṃśa quoted by Dr. Sircar *"anudhyā"* has been clearly used in the active sense as generally in the older literature. But I fail to see in them any trace of the verb *anudhyā* "to favour". We should not be influenced in our judgment by Mallinātha, for he too like us was groping for an exact synonym of *"anudhyā"*. If I have to suggest an approximate meaning for Kālidāsa's active *"anudhyā"* I would suggest something like "to pray for the welfare of". This meaning fully suits the Raghuvaṃśa passages and has moreover the additional advantage of retaining the sense of the basic root which Dr. Sircar has to ignore.

Now for the inscriptional term *"pādānudhyāta"*. The first thing we have to keep in mind in this connection is that the problem we have got to solve is a purely grammatical one and not of meaning, for what is after all the difference in meaning between the usually accepted "meditating on the feet" and my suggestion "steeped in the meditation of the feet"! It is the meaning "favoured" suggested by Dr. Sircar which makes a fresh diversion in the field. If we take recourse to grammatical jugglery, then even in the term *pādānudhyāta* an active meaning for *"anudhyā"* can be well defended (this, so far as I know, has not been thought of by any epigraphist as yet): we have only to take it to mean *"pādau anudhyātau yena"* (active *anudhyā* as generally in the older literature). But this, as I have said, is grammatical jugglery. The only other alternative which may be fastened upon in defence of an active meaning for *"anudhyā"* in the term *pādānudhyāta* leads however to a grammatical absurdity, for, as already shown in my review, it comes to nothing short of equating *"pādānudhyāta"* with *"pādānudhyātṛ"*! And this alternative has been endorsed or acquiesced in for decades by scholars engaged in epigraphic work! It must be said to the credit of Dr. Sircar that he was the first to draw out this anomaly into the glare of daylight. But the meaning he himself has suggested for the term is, I fear, too radical to be able ever to attain general acceptance. Every meaning of *"pādānudhyāta"* that may reasonably aspire to general acceptance must be based on one of the only two meanings of *anudhyā* attested in the older literature,—one active and the other medial. But the active meaning leads to an absurdity, unless defended by grammatical jugglery. *Ergo,* we have to start with the medial meaning evident in the Mahābhārata passage cited by me. I see now that exactly the same medial meaning of *"anudhyāta"* as I suggested in regard to the term *pādānudhyāta* has been given also by Böhtlingk-Roth ("in Gedanken vertieft"), and that too on the basis of a Mahābhārata passage.

I feel diffident to speak on the evidence of inscriptions on *"anudhyā"* and *"pādānudhyāta"*, for I am not *au courant* in that field. But I fail to see why the sentence *"ṣaḍānanaḥ yam anudhyāya abhiṣiktavān"* of the Tālagunda inscription should be denied its natural and obvious meaning, viz., "whom Ṣaḍānana had consecrated after being steeped in meditation". There is absolutely no need here to connect *yam* with *anudhyāya; yam* is here evidently to be connected only with *abhiṣiktavān.* I do not see at all how it can be said that "there is absolutely no doubt" that *"anudhyāta"* in the compound *mahāsenamātṛgaṇānudhyāta* was used to mean "favoured" or "blessed". Why not take the whole compound to mean "steeped in the meditation of Mahāsena's band of mothers"?—It is not clear to me what is the purpose of Dr. Sircar's grammatical reflections in course of which he has also drawn the word *cintita* into the picture. Therefore I desist from commenting on them.—I have nowhere suggested the meaning "permitted" for *"anudhyāta"*; I thought it was Dr. Sircar who had suggested this meaning, but that I was wrong in thinking so is clear to me now from Dr. Sircar's remark.—From the passages quoted by Dr. Sircar as representing Lévi's view it is not clear whether he took *"anudhyā"* to be active or medial in meaning. But that is precisely the point as issue, for, as shown above, the general sense in either case is practically the same.—To Utpala's lucubrations we need not attach any more importance than to Mallinātha's, for the required meaning will have to be derived after all directly from the original passages and not from the commentaries. Moreover neither Mallinātha nor Utpala is noted for clearly distinguishing in each case between the active and the medial meaning of a verb.

I am convinced more than ever before that in *"pādānudhyāta"* the verb *anu-dhyā* is medial in meaning. Firstly, because this meaning is clearly attested in the Mahābhārata; secondly, because by adopting this meaning we can keep close to the sense of the basic root; thirdly, because the meaning "to favour" is nowhere attested in literature; and fourthly, because even in the two inscriptional passages quoted by Dr. Sircar as proving conclusively the meaning "to favour" of the verb, *anudhyā* may just as well be taken to mean "to *be* steeped in meditation".

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH



NĀRĀYANPUR VINĀYAKA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KING MAHĪPĀLA.
(I. C. vol. ix, no. 1—page 121.)

(4)

NĀRĀYAṆPUR VINĀYAKA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KING MAHĪPĀLA.—REGNAL YEAR 4

During the months of March and April, 1943, I received no less than five important inscriptions for decipherment and publication. First came the Kalaikuri copper-plate inscription of the Gupta year 120=439 A.D. This record has since been published in *Baṅgaśrī* (Bengali), Vaiśākh, 1350 B.S. and in *I. H. Q.*, March, 1943. Next came an invitation from Pandit L. P. Pandeya Sarma, Honorary Secretary of the Mahakosal Historical Society, to edit jointly with him the Pīparḍūlā copper-plate inscription of the Śarabhapura King Narendra, son of Śarabha. This charter has also been published in *I. H. Q.*, June, 1943. About the end of April I was invited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar to examine two copper-plate grants of Śaśāṅka, which had been found by him in the Museum of the Midnapore Sāhitya Parishat. The text of these grants was deciphered by me at the request of Dr. Majumdar who kindly allowed me to edit the records in *Prabāsī* (Bengali), Śrāvan, 1350 B.S.[1] About the same time, I happened one morning to see Dr. J. N. Banerjea at his residence. While we were standing near the gate of the house and talking, one Mr. Sadhan Chandra Bhattacharya appeared with a rough rubbing of a short stone inscription. I examined the rubbing then and there at Dr. Banerjea's request and found that it was an image inscription of the time of king Mahīpāla. I have already edited the record together with the Midnapore Sāhitya Parishat grants of Śaśāṅka in *Prabāsī*, Śrāvan, 1950 B.S. It is reedited here for the convenience of scholars who are unable to consult the Bengali journal.

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[1] A summary of the grants of Śaśāṅka is given here in the language of the original:—

Grant No. 1: Seal-तावीराधिकरणस्य. Text-[ॐ*] [सम्वत्] ८ ([सम्वत्*] [१०] ६?) पाषदि १० २....श्री शशाङ्के महीम्पाति चतुर्ज्जलधिमेखलां···तस्य पाद-नखज्योत्स्नाविभूषितशिरोमणौ (।*) श्रीमन्महाप्रतिहारे शुभकीर्त्तौ विचक्षणेः (णे) ॥ दण्डभुक्तिमिमां पाति पितृवत्पापवर्ज्जिते....अस्यां तावीरकरणं विप्रप्रधानसङ्गतं (।*) भविष्यद्वर्त्तमानाषीन्विज्ञापयति सूनृतं ॥ क्रीत्वास्मत्तो यथान्यायं शुभकर्त्तारे(र)यं बुधः (।*) चत्वारिङ्शद्दा द्रोणान् द्रोणवापं च वास्तुनः ॥ के[त]कपद्रिकोद्देशे ग्रामे कुम्भारपद्रके...दाम्यस्वामिन एतस्मै पित्रो(:*) पुण्याभिवृद्धये···Grant No. 2:- Seal-तावीराधिकरणस्य. Text-[ॐस*][म्व]त् १० ६ भाद्र दि १० ६....श्रीशशाङ्के महीं पाति चतुर्जलधिमेखलां ॥ तस्य पादन[खज्योत्स्ना*] विभूषितशिरोमणौ (।*) श्रीसामन्तमहाराजसोमदत्तो गुणाधिके ॥···सहितामुत्कलदेशेन दण्डभुक्ति प्रशा[सति ॥*] अमात्यो यस्य गुणवान् प्रकीर्ण्णदास इति श्रुतः....प्राह तावीरकं सर्व्वं करणं लोकसङ्गतं ....श्रीसामन्तेन कृतिना सोमदत्तेन धीमता ॥ भट्टेश्वराय गुणिने काश्यपायाध्वर्यवे(।*) मु(म)हाकुम्भार[पद्रको] दत्तः सर्व्वमण्डलवर्जित(:*) ॥....Cf. करण = अधिकरण अधि = अधिकरणिक ; द्रोण = द्रोणवाप ।

The village of Nārāyaṇpur lies about 15 miles to the northeast of the subdivisional town of Chándpur in the Tippera District. It is under the jurisdiction of the Matlab Police Station and the Khidirpur Post Office. Some time ago, a Muhammadan tenant of a Talukdar of Nārāyaṇpur named Rames Chandra Ghosal found a black stone image of Gaṇeśa while reexcavating an old tank. The image which has an inscription on its pedestal was lying on the banks of the tank and attracted the attention of Brahmachari Nikhil of the Ramkrishna Math at Nārāyaṇpur. The Brahmachari prepared a rubbing of the inscribed lines and sent it to his Calcutta friends who ultimately brought it to my notice. He also came down to Calcutta to see me when he gave me some details about the image and its discovery and after a few weeks supplied me with inked impressions of the record.

The inscription contains eight lines of writing. The characters are proto-Bengali of about the 11th century A.D. and are in a fairly satisfactory state of preservation. But the draftsman or engraver appears to have been rather careless and, as a result of this carelessness, the reading and interpretation of some of the passages cannot be settled beyond doubt. Fortunately however there is no doubt about the reading of the important sections containing the date and the king's name. The language is Sanskrit; but the epigraph is full of grammatical errors. *B* and *V* have not been differentiated.

The Nārāyaṇpur inscription is dated in the fourth year of the reign of king Mahīpāla. It records the establishment of an image of Vināyaka by a merchant named Buddhamitra, son of Jambhalamitra. The merchant was an inhabitant of a locality called Bilikandhaka in the country of Samataṭa; but the image seems to have been established at a place called Bhasakāga. In this connection it is interesting to note that an image of Nārāyaṇa was discovered at Bāghāurā in the Brahmanbaria subdivision of the Tippera District and that it is recorded to have been established in the third regnal year of king Mahīpāla by the Vaiṣṇava merchant Lokadatta, an inhabitant of Bilakīndaka in Samataṭa.[1a] There is no doubt that both the Bāghāurā and Nārāyaṇpur images were established during the reign of one and the same Mahīpāla. It is again very probable that Bilikandhaka of the Nārāyaṇpur record is identical with Bilakīndaka of the Bāghāurā inscription. The country of Samataṭa apparently included the present Tippera-Noakhali region in South-east Bengal. Bilakīndaka has been identified by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali with Bilkendua near Bāghāurā.

[1a] *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 353 ff.

There were two kings named Mahīpāla in the dynasty of the Pālas of Bengal. Mahīpāla I ruled about the first half of the eleventh century (c.992—1040 according to some, c.988—1038 according to others), while Mahīpāla II reigned in the seventh or eighth decade of the same century (c.1081—82 according to some, c.1070—75 according to others). It is possible to attribute the Bāghāurā and Nārāyaṇpur images to the reign of any of these two Mahīpālas, although the name of the first of them is usually suggested. Recently the king mentioned in the Bāghāurā inscription has been identified with the Pratihāra king Mahīpāla I (c.912—44 A.D.). This suggestion however cannot be accepted in the present state of our knowledge, as there is no evidence to prove Pratihāra connection with south-east Bengal.

The names Buddhamitra and Jambhalamitra show Buddhist influence. It may therefore be supposed that the god Vināyaka established by Buddhamitra, son of Jambhalamitra, is the Mahāyānist deity of that name. I have not been able to examine the image itself, nor could I secure any photograph of it. But the details supplied by Brahmachari Nikhil suggest that the image is about 3 feet in height and is in seated position. It is four-armed and wears bangles, a necklace and a crown. The left tusk of the elephant head is represented as broken. The image holds a radish in right upper hand, rosary in lower right hand, axe in upper left hand, and sweets in lower left hand. The elephant-headed god is tasting the sweets in his lower left hand with his trunk. He has lotus symbols on his feet and bears a sacred thread to which, on the deity's body, a serpent is tied. There is the representation of a rat, the god's *Vāhana,* on the pedestal. It is interesting to note that this description agrees fully with that of the Brahmanic deity Vināyaka, but not with that of his Buddhist namesake. The *Viṣṇudharmottara,* e.g., says:

विनायकस्तु कर्त्तव्यो गजवक्त्रश्चतुर्भुजः ।
मूलकं चाक्षमाला च तस्य दक्षिणहस्तयोः ॥
पात्रं मोदकपूर्णं तु परशुश्चैव वामतः ।
दन्तश्चास्य न कर्त्तव्यो वामे रिपुनिसूदन ॥

पादपीठकृतपादः एक आसनगो भवेत् ।
पूर्णमोदकपात्रे तु कराग्रं तस्य कारयेत् ॥
लम्बोदरस्तथा कार्यः स्तज्ज(?)कर्णश्च यादव ।
व्याघ्रचर्माम्बरधरं सर्पयज्ञोपवीतवान् ॥

This sort of seated and four-armed Vināyaka is not uncommon in Bengal. It is however interesting that the Nārāyaṇpur Vināyaka image does not answer to the description of the Buddhist deity of that name. Jambhalamitra's son Buddhamitra who established the image therefore appears to have been a Brahmanical Hindu, although his own name and that of his father show Buddhistic influence. Indeed it appears that there was hardly any difference between the Brahmanist and Buddhist householders of Bengal about the eleventh century A.D. The distinction between Brahmanism and Buddhism seems about that period to have been exhibited only in the debates of philosophers of the two schools. In that age the Buddhist mass had no popular literature worth the name. The *Jātakas* and *Avadānas* were not translated into the local language and the socalled Buddhist works like the later *Dharmamaṅgala* can hardly be marked out of the vast *maṅgala-kāvya* literature of the Brahmanists. In fact most of the gods and goddesses are common to both the sects. The influence of popular Brahmanistic gods and literature was very great on the society. The grant of villages to Nārāyaṇa[2] by Dharmapāla, and to a Brāhmaṇa[3], who read out the *Mahābhārata* to his chief queen, by Madanapāla may be recalled in this connection. The Pāla emperors were Buddhists; but claim to have been defenders of the *Varṇāśrama* order.[4] The ordinary Buddhist householders of this period had probably no real touch with their philosophers. These were apparently some of the chief causes that led to the absorption of Buddhist masses into the Brahmanic society.

Text[5]

1. ॐ[6] सम्वत्[7] ४ आषाढ़दिने २५ महाराजाधिराज-श्रीम-

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[2] *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 16 (Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla).

[3] Ibid, p. 154 (Manahali grant of Madanapāla).

[4] Monghyr grant of Devapāla, V. 5 (ibid, 36). It must be admitted that from the viewpoint of society the lay Buddhists differed little from the Brahmanist householders even in the early period; but the difference in the religions of the two sects was marked. In the early medieval period however the religious distinction gradually died out so far as the ordinary people are concerned.

[5] From estampages.

[6] *Siddham* expressed by a symbol.

[7] Read संवत् which is a contraction of संवत्सरे.

2. न्महीपालदेवप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये[8] । समतट-वि-
3. लिकन्धकवास्तव्य[9] -वणिक[10]माहास । न्द[11]-जम्भलमि-
4. त्र-जात्त[12]-वणिक[13]-बुद्धमित्रेण[14] । मातापित्रो[15]रात्मनश्च पु-
5. ण्ययशोतिवृद्धये भशकागे (?) परमहिठोषेक (?)[16]-वि-
6. णायकभट्टारकः[17] स्थापितः अयनस्व-विष्ठ[18]-
7- रेण । [19]लभेत (भाश गो ?) नाहि ना[20] काल-अन्ते (?)वासि[21]-
8, [वि ?] पुण्येश[22]

Translation

(This image of) of Lord Vināyaka who is perfectly unmalicious (?) is established, on the seat that is the property of Ayana, at Bhaśakāga (?) by the merchant Buddhamitra, son of the illustrious merchant and great householder (?) Jambhalamitra, and an inhabitant of Bilikandhaka in Samataṭa, for the increase of the merit and fame of himself and his parents, on the twenty-fifth day of Āṣāḍha in the fourth year of the increasingly victorious reign of the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahīpāladeva. (The god) should receive offerings that should be always of the same value. (The sculptor?) is [Vi?] puṇyeśa who is a disciple of Kāla.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

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[8] Read विजय० The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[9] कन्धक० may also be ०कन्वक. ०कीन्दक read in the Bāghāurā inscriptioin may likewise be ०कीन्धक or ०कीन्वक.

[10] Read वणिग्० The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[11] Possibly महाशाल, "a great house-holder" in intended.

[12] Read जात. Possibly सुत or पुत्र was intended.

[13] Read वणि ०

[14] Read ०मित्रेण. The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[15] Read पित्रो०

[16] The reading is doubtful. Possibly परमाजिघांसक in intended.

[17] Read विनायक०

[18] Read विष्टरेण.

[19] From here the reading and interpretation are not settled beyond doubt.

[20] Possibly भोगान् अहीनान् is intended.

[21] Possibly कालान्ते० is to be suggested.

[22] The first consonant is lost; but the vowel mark is clear. Read पुण्येशः.

(5)

"KHAROṢṬHĪ"

Regarding the designation *"Kharoṣṭhī"* of the ancient script of north-west India Sten Konow, *inter alia,* says the following:—"it is quite possible that it is due to a popular etymology of an Aramaic word meaning *"writing"*, which sounded like *kharoṭṭha* and was Sanskritized as *kharoṣṭha,* ass-lip" (*Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions,* p. XV). Sten Konow in this connection also refers to Ludwig's article in the *Gurupūjākaumudī* (Weber-Festschrift, 1896) in which the Aramaic origin of the designation *kharoṣṭhī* was suggested for the first time, but the actual Aramaic word, of which *kharoṣṭhī,* according to Ludwig, is the Sanskritized form, is not given by Konow. This is apparently the reason why, as I was surprised to notice, the theory of the Aramaic origin of the term *kharoṣṭhī,* suggested nearly half a century ago by Ludwig, has remained practically unknown among Indian scholars, for few of us in India have had the opportunity to read the original article by Ludwig in the Weber-Festschrift.

What Ludwig said is this: the word *kharoṣṭhī* is ultimately connected with Hebrew *ḥārōṣeth* "engraving" but is directly derived from the cognate Aramaic form *ḥarūtthā;* the script, along with its designation, should have come to India when Gandhāra was a province of the Persian empire in which Aramaic was the official language.

I find Ludwig's theory fully satisfactory in every respect. That the Kharoṣṭhī script is a modified form of the Aramaic script has been always admitted. What can be more natural in the circumstances than that the designation also should have been originally an Aramaic word?—Let us note finally that the earliest occurrence of the term *kharoṣṭhī* is in the Lalitavistara (Lefman's ed., p. 125):—*brāhmī-kharoṣṭīpuṣkarasārim̐, aṅgalipim̐, vaṅgalipim̐, magadhalipim̐* etc. Between the introduction of the script into north-west India under the Achaemenids and the earliest literary reference to it there is therefore an interval of about five hundred years. During this long period the inhabitants of north-west India must have forgotten the meaning of the foreign word they had learnt to use as the designation of their script and thus were induced to Sanskritise it into *kharoṣṭhī* as suggested by Konow. Complete Sanskritisation had however not been achieved even in the age of the Lalitavistara, for there the form is as yet *kharoṣṭī* and not *kharoṣṭhī.*

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

REVIEWS

PĀLI LITERATURE & LANGUAGE by Wilhelm Geiger, University of Munich: authorised English Translation by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh of the University of Calcutta; Printed at the University Press and Published by the University of Calcutta: 1943: pp. xviii, 251.

Professor Geiger's classic work *Pāli Litteratur und Sprache* has at last been given out in its English version, and both the erudite translator Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh and the University of Calcutta deserve the best thanks of Indologists and Linguisticians in India and elsewhere not able to use the original German work for making it available to them. Professor Geiger's Pāli is a work of capital importance in the domain of Middle Indo-Aryan philology, and the publication of its English translation is quite an event in the world of Indology and Linguistics in India. Through its English version, the book will be sure to exert from now a much greater influence upon our scholars and sudents, not only in India but also in Ceylon and Burma. There is a special appropriateness in Dr. Ghosh's undertaking and finishing the work, as he was a pupil of Dr. Geiger himself at Munich, and is a specialist in Comparative Philology and Sanskrit studies as well. The work fortunately is not a mere reproduction in English of the German edition which was first published in the well-known *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* in the year 1916: it is a thoroughly revised work, with much new material supplied by Dr. Geiger himself incorporated into it, so that it can be said to have been brought up-to-date.

I have nothing to say in praise of the work, as it has been almost an inspiration for me in my own study of Pāli and Prakrit, and in the present English translation it will be even more useful and helpful. The general get up is quite good, the typography being on the model of the original and the printing is clear enough: and in a work printed with diacritical letters in an Indian press, the number of misprints (noted by Dr. Ghosh himself) is refreshingly small.

Dr. Geiger's work (like most of the companion volumes in the *Grundriss)* is distinguished by its wealth of examples in the grammar portion, which is a model of what a historical grammar should be. Words and forms quoted have throughout been referred to the original texts, even the lines in which they occur in the printed editions being indicated in the case of the prose texts: a remarkably painstating piece of work which among other things amply demonstrates the thoroughness with which Professor Geiger has performed his task. In the English version as prepared by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, which is really the second edition of the work, I only wish that Professor Geiger had reconsidered the case of the basic dialect of Pāli. It appears to be demonstrated more and more convincingly that Pāli is at its basis not an Eastern dialect allied to the ancient speech of Magadha, but rather it is a Midland speech allied to Śaurasenī. The initial mistake of connecting Pāli with Māgadhī and calling it by the latter name arose with the Ceylon monks, and this has been responsible for a lot of confusion in unravelling this important problem in Middle Indo-Aryan philology. The posing of *tatsamas* and *semi-tatsamas* in Pāli as suggested by conditions in New Indo-Aryan, explains a good deal of apparent phonetic inconsistency in Pāli as in other Middle Indo-Aryan. Thus *Brāhmaṇa* is a *tatsama* loan from Sanskrit which has driven out the proper *tadbhava* form **bamhaṇa* from Pāli; *nigrodha* is a *semi-tatsama* from *nyagrodha* in place of the expected *tadbhava* word **ñaggodha,* and *ratana* is a *semi-tatsama* beside the *tadbhava* word *ratta* (as in *rattaññū=ratna-jña),* both from Old Indo-Aryan *ratna.* This way of classifying the vocables of Middle Indo-Aryan is generally lost sight of. Then, again, the question of dialectal interaction in both words and forms in the evolution of Pāli, as well as that of aboriginal (=*deśī* in its new connotation) and foreign words would have received fresh light if only Professor Geiger had turned his attention to them. Professor Geiger has treated the question of the Old Indo-Aryan consonant nexus *kṣ* and its equivalents *kh, kkh* and *ch, cch* in Middle-Indo-Aryan (§56) with some thoroughness, taking it back to Indo-Iranian & Indo-European. The history of cerebralisation in connexion with *r* is similarly capable of being pushed back to at least the oldest period of Indo-Aryan, if not beyond to Indo-Iranian: the so called case *r*+dental giving cerebral is really an instance of the earliest Old Indo-Aryan modification of *l*+dental becoming cerebral, as such so-called *r*—cerebralisation started in the Eastern (*Prācya*) area where there was no *r* but only *l.* (This matter has been discussed in my *Origin & Development of the Bengali Language.)*

It is clear that in a few matters the facts and origins of Pāli are capable of restatement. But that does not in the least lessen the great qualities of Dr. Geiger's book, which is and will long continue to be a work of fundamental importance in the study of Pāli. By making it accessible to a large mass of students and investigators not knowing German, Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh has done an inestimable service. The interested world of students and scholars rather than the translator are to be congratulated on the completion of Dr. Ghosh's labours, for they now get a reliable rendering by an accomplished scholar of German who has the advantage of having been a pupil of the great professor, and is at the same time an Indologist and linguistician of repute.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

WOOLNER COMMEMORATION VOLUME, edited by Mohammad Shafi, M.A.; published by Mehar Chand Lachhman Das, Lahore, 1940.

The literary output of Dr. A. C. Woolner, who died prematurely in 1936, was not very remarkable either in quality or in quantity. Yet few Englishmen there have been in India whose memory should be more lovingly cherished by us than Woolner's. For he was a true lover of India, and he rendered inestimable service to the cause of higher education in our country. The present volume shows that India is not oblivious of her debt of gratitude to him.

In the opening article S. K. Aiyangar has tried to prove, on very insufficient ground however, that "the science of Mīmāṁsā was a single one, and that it branched off into two afterwards."—Very interesting and useful is the next article (in Sanskrit) by Mahāmahopādhyāya Mādhavaśāstrī Bhāṇḍarī in which he has discussed individually fifteen Ācāryas of the Pāṇinean lore, beginning with Vyāḍi and ending with Patañjali. No student fo Pāninean grammar should miss this article.—Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya in a short note has convincingly demonstrated that the real instructor of the *asparśayaga* referred to in the Māṇḍūkya Kārikā (IV. 2) is no other than the Buddha himself!—Professor Jules Bloch has discussed the adjectival affix *-sā* in Hindī.—"Śaiva Miniature paintings in the Early Western India Style" by W. Norman Brown is well illustrated with pictures from medieval manuscripts.—Carpani's philosophical notes on Chāndoyaga and Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads cannot be called very deep or original, and his presentation of the material is rather awkward. In a short and popular sort of article Professor S. K. Chatterji has discussed the Jātaka version of the Kṛṣṇa-story, emphasising the point that the Jātaka too should be recognised as "a repository of Purāṇa references."—Professor Kṣetreśacandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya has tried to show that Ṛgvedic Kīkaṭa is nothing but Kurukṣetra.—The excellent Pāṇinean scholar S. P. Caturvedī has argued in an article, which unlike his other articles on the subject is rather superficial, that Pāṇini's language belongs to the pre-Mahābhārata period and therefore the date of Pāṇini should be shifted back "to a period earlier than the 9th century B.C."—Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra in an interesting note has tried to show that Seleucos has been actually mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa under the name Śailūṣa!—Dr. Ānanda K. Coomaraswāmy in a short note on "Manas" has exhorted the Indologists to forsake the path of dry and exact philology, maintaining that "it is an indispensable condition of true scholarship both to believe in order to understand and to understand in order to believe".—The volume contains also one of the last articles from the pen of the late Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids in which she deplored the fact that "still do books and articles appear with the old ascription of denier (sic!) of 'self or soul', of Deity, of personal responsibility, etc., dumped on to the shoulders of this much wronged teacher (Buddha)". Discussing the word *gaḍḍarikā* Dr. S. K. Dé has raised the question if it can be a "Prakritic form (borrowed from Sanskrit) of a lost Sanskrit word *gandhārikā,* which may have meant a female sheep".—V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar's article on the Thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka is very original. Some of his conclusions will give the creeps to Indologists deficient in sense of humour. For Mr. Dikshitar has tried to prove by means of hefty assertion that Aśoka's *"dharma* was the *Sanātana dharma* of orthodox Hinduism", that "the Śramaṇas of the inscriptions of Aśoka refer invariably to the orthodox ascetics of the Brahmanical fold and not to Buddhists as is generally understood", that "it is a myth to believe that Aśoka substituted the conquest of arms by the conquest of morality", and more of the sort.—Mr. N. K. Dutt's article entitled "Widow in Ancient India" is substantial and instructive, though the author has failed to emphasise the point that historically widow burning must be regarded as a survival from primitive culture and not as an enforced institution. The veteran archaeologist A. Foucher has contributed an article on the history of Multān which may be accepted as the model of its kind. Professor Foucher has done here much more than simply proving that the designation Multān (i.e. Mūlasthāna) replaced an older designation "Kaśyapapura" ("Kaspapyros" etc. of the Greeks). He has also raised and answered in his own way the question why Alexander did not try to conquer India (always under the assumption, it seems, that it was within his power to do so). Professor Foucher has in this connection expressed the view that Alexander's soldiers had taken upon themselves the task of "restoring for the Greeks the empire of the Persians", so that when the Indian province of the Persian empire was conquered by Alexander his soldiers thought they had accomplished their appointed task and consequently refused to follow him further afield.—P. K. Gode's article on "Textual Criticism in the Thirteenth Century" is interesting, and so is also Mohammad Iqbal's on "Some Specimens of the Calligraphy of the Qur'an from the Library at Meshed". Mr. Jagan Nath in his "New Light on Maukhari Chronology" has hotly contested Sant Lal Katre's theory that Kṣatravarman was the immediate successor of Śarvavarman.—E. H. Johnston has done well to retrieve from oblivion the memory of Charles Wilkins who had done so much in his day for the cause of oriental learning.—S. M. Katre in his article "Sanskrit Lexicography and Middle Indo-Aryan" has touched some interesting topics. The much discussed form *sūre* in *sūṛe duhitā* (see Wackernagel I, p. 338; III, p. 314) has been, as usual, attributed to Māgadhan influence, but I don't find sufficient guarantee for such a hypothesis when the form can be well due to a mere freak of analogy. In internal Sandhi *az* is known to have changed into *e* as in *edhi* out of **az-dhi*: is it impossible that this law of internal Sandhi should have effected in one chance case the same change also in external Sandhi? The epic form *paṭṭaḥ* should in my opinion be connected with English *fold,* German *falten* etc., and not with an hypothetical **pattra.* In his etymologies Mr. Katre seems to forget that without a fairly complete history of the words concerned they can never be anything more than mere guess. The result of neglecting word-history is apparent in Katre's etymology of the word *kacchapa* which he derives from *kakṣa-pa*. But, as I have shown before (*IHQ.*, X, 1934, pp. 561-3), the form *kacchapa* is derived from the Prākritic variation *kaśśapa* of the good old word *kaśyapa*.—Professor A. B. Keith's article entitled "The Age of the Ṛgveda" is, as to be expected, rich in bibliography and sceptical in spirit. In the first part of his article the author has discussed in detail the apparently proto-Indo-Iranian names occurring in records of about 1400 B.C. discovered in Syria and Cappadocia, and he seems to deny the identity of the Mitanni gods In-ta-ra, U-ru-van-a, Na as-sa ti-an-na (these are the forms in which the names appear in Accadian syllabary) with the Vedic Indra, Varuṇa and Nāsatya respectively. But is this not carrying scepticism too far? It is indeed unsafe to to identify *in-ta-ra* straightway with Indra, or *u-ru-van-a* with Varuṇa. But what may seem uncertain in isolation does often derive definiteness from association. Indeed, the fact that the three names occur in the *same* context is an additional argument for their identification with the corresponding Vedic names. Prof. Keith scouts the idea favoured by some scholars that the Mitanni Indo-European speech came from India and avers: "it is infinitely more probable that it represents the Aryan dialect of a band, which parted from the body and advanced west while others of that body proceeded to India, and others mastered gradually large portions of Iran." Regarding the possibility of the Vedic Aryans' contact with the Mahenjo daro people Prof. Keith says: "The efforts to find in the *Ṛgveda* any evidence of contests against people of the type now revealed is (sic!) clearly hopeless." Yet exactly the opposite view has been expressed recently by Prof. Debrunner in an article contributed to the Kane-Festschrift. But I confess that the grammatical argument adduced by Prof. Debrunner cannot be regarded as compelling. Many other things of great interest have been discussed by Prof. Keith in this article, which however cannot even be touched in this short review.—Dr. Bimala Churn Law has discussed in a short note the "Drugs and Diseases known to the Early Buddhists".—Prof. V. V. Mirashi has attempted in his important article to explain away the apparent irregularities of some Kalacuri dates of the Cedi era.—Dr. Mohammad Wahid has tried to show that "most of the Mohammadan poets of India have displayed from the earliest times a complete freedom from any racial or religious prejudice".—Professor Hanns Oertel has put in a strong plea for special dictionaries of particular Sanskrit texts as preliminary to a Sanskrit Thesaurus.—Dr. Manilal Patel's contribution consists of an annotated translation of RV. X. 5.—Differing from Prof. S. K. Chatterji who declared *Khāravela* to be based on Dravidian *kār-vēl* "he of the black lance" (A Miscellany of Papers published by the Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurthi Pantutu's 70th Birthday Celebration Committee, pp. 71-4), Prof. Przyluski has suggested that this historical name is derived from **kharava*, an extended form of *khara* "ass", in the same way as *śrāmaṇera* is derived from *śramaṇa*.—E. J. Rapson in an interesting note has shown that "the curious inscriptional titles 'Lord of horses' (*aśvapati*), 'Lord of elephants' (*gajapati*), and 'Lord of men' (*narapati*) were those of actual local rājas who at some time were forced to submit to the will of an overlord in the Allāhābād District".—Prof. Renou in a beautiful article has convincingly demonstrated that the earliest meaning of the word *yóni* should have been "road", thus corroborating Prof. Benveniste who has shown (Vṛtra et Vṛθragna, pp. 50 ff.) that Avestan *yaona* has no other meaning.—Of the remaining articles let us mention Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar's "The Political Ideals of Caṇḍeśvara, Mādhava and Vaiśampāyana", A. S. Tritton's "Theory of Knowledge in Early Muslim Theology", A. N. Upadhye's "On the Date of Vasunandi's Commentary on Mūlācāra", and Friedrich Weller's German translation of the Chinese version of the Brahmacālasūtra.—The concluding article, on Bhāsa, is from the pen of Professor Winternitz who is no more. The great scholar has here formulated his conclusions about Bhāsa in these words: "I do not think we can say anything more than that Bhāsa lived some time before Kālidāsa, wrote a number of dramas, of which the *Svapnavāsavattā* and probably also the *Pratijñāyaugandhārāyaṇa* have come down to us in Malabar recensions which seem to be adapted and somewhat abbreviated for the Kerala stage, but can still be regarded as fair copies of original texts."—In conclusion I have only to say that I hardly ever came across a volume of this kind in which there is so little to skip.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

SPIRITUAL AUTHORITY AND TEMPORAL POWER IN THE INDIAN THEORY OF GOVERNMENT by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, pp. 87; American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut; 1942.

This is a book of brilliant digressions by a renowned aesthete turning mystic. Both aesthetics and mysticism being supralogical, nothing can be more natural than that an aesthete should gradually become a mystic. What is unnatural, however, is that the aesthete in course of his metamorphosis should learn to despise the modest methods of sober philology—as seems to be the case with Dr. Coomaraswamy, to judge him by his latest publications, including the present one. Here the author has discussed—I doubt if at all seriously—the relation between Brahman and Kṣatra in ancient Indian political theory, starting, apparently, with the assumption that the same relation between spiritual authority and temporal power was maintained unchanged from the Ṛgvedic age to the age of Kauṭilya. Even granting this, it is not easy to see eye to eye with the author, for the very good reason that he has nowhere stated or clearly suggested what that immutable relation in his opinion really is! But he is by no means equally evasive in his rejection of accepted theories.

Many fine observations have however been made in the digressive footnotes. Thus on p. 15, the author observes: "*māyā* does not mean an "illusion" distinct from a real phenomenon, but rather the means of creating any appearance whatever". To this I would add that *rūpa* in the oldest literature never means "form", but "artificial form assumed by means of *māyā*". The whole system of Vedānta philosophy will be lighted up in a flash if we start with these meanings originally attaching to these two terms.—The true significanse of AV. XIII. 2. 3 (*nānārūpe ahanī karṣi māyayā*) quoted by the author on the same page will be clear only when it is realised that the original meaning of *ahan* was not "day", but "a period of twelve hours", which, through *māyā*, may be light or dark; cf. RV. VI. 9. 1: *ahaś ca kṛṣṇam ahar arjunaṁ ca.*

Batakrishna Ghosh.

THE ĀGAMAŚĀSTRA OF GAUḌAPĀDA edited, translated and annotated by Vidhushekhara Bhattacharyya, Asutosh Professor of Sanskrit, University of Calcutta; pp. cxlvi+308.

Gauḍapāda's Āgamaśāstra, as edited here, consists altogether of 215 verses only. That the book has yet assumed such imposing proportions is due to the elaborate and instructive notes added by Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidhushekhara Bhattacharyya to each verse. But every word of these elaborate notes was necessary, for though the text itself is neither new nor extraordinarily difficult to understand, yet the interpretation put upon the text by the author is revolutionary. It is easy to foretell that the book will evoke the wrath of many orthodox Vedāntists who swear by Śaṅkara. For our author has not accepted Śaṅkara's interpretation. He has given what to him—and to the present reviewer too—seems to be the natural and unforced meaning of Gauḍapāda's verses. The result is that Gauḍapāda's philosophy turns out to be almost wholly Buddhistic! And, what is highly interesting, verse IV. 2 seems to contain a direct salutation to the Buddha, for, as MM.V. Bhattacharyya has shown, the person who in this verse is credited with havnig taught the *asparśayoga* is no other than the Buddha himself. Vedānta and Buddhist idealism seem to have been practically fused into one system in the centuries immediately preceding the advent of Śaṅkara. We have to remember that renowned Buddhist scholars of this age, on their part, also declared that Vedānta philosophy is unacceptable to them only because there was no place in it for *kṣaṇikavāda*—so Śāntarakṣita in his *Tattvasaṁgraha.* Since, for all practical purposes, Vedāntism and Buddhist Vijñānavāda had become one system of thought, it need not be surprising that Gauḍapāda should prove to have been to such an extent susceptible of Buddhist influence. Rather it is surprising that this core of Buddhism in

Gauḍapāda's Kārikās should not have been pointed out before. Perhaps it was deference to Śaṅkara's authority that had hitherto prevented the scholars competent to do the job from probing critically into Gauḍapāda's philosophy. All the more credit is therefore due to MM. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharyya, who, though himself a scholar of the orthodox school, did not hesitate to reject the auhtority of Śaṅkara, and had moreover the courage of conviction to suggest quite an independent interpretation of the Kārikās, which, I am sure, will be generally accepted by the scholarly world at large.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA by A. P. Dasgupta, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.); pp. xiii+165; published by the University of Calcutta, 1942.

This is a collection of five valuable papers which had appeared before in the journals *Bengal Past and Present, Calcutta Review* and *Indian Historical Quarterly*. The first paper entitled "The Select Committee in Bengal and its Conflict with the Council in 1770" describes the circumstances under which the Select Committee was first instituted and the modifications it underwent afterwards. "Nawab Najimuddowla and the English" describes how, after Mirjafar's death, the Nawab of Bengal was shorn of his remaining powers by Spencer's government. It is also shown in this paper that "months before the English obtained the grant of the dewany from the Emperor of Delhi, they had started taking a hand in the revenue administration of Bengal and that the formal grant by Shah Alam only legalised the existing position". The fourth chapter deals with the "Macartney papers in the Historical Museum, Satara". The papers in question were indeed at Satara when the article was first published, but now they have been transferred to the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute at Poona. The last chapter dealing with the Treaty of Mangalore is, in the words of he author, "a vindication of the Madras government against the charge of having concluded the Second Mysore War with unseemly haste and accepted terms disgraceful to the East India Company".—It will be seen that only problems of detail of British Indian history have been dealt with in this book, so that the author can offer us no great discovery. Yet in dealing with his material he has shown a sober judgment that is highly commendable and a passion for absolute accuracy which is not to be found in every historian. His conclusions are therefore not only well established but seem fairly irrefutable.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

A COLLEGE TEXT-BOOK OF INDIAN HISTORY: Vol. I (India down to A.D. 1200), pp. iv+404+xliv; Vol. II (India from A.D. 1200 to 1700), pp. xiii+631+xx; Vol. III (A.D. 1700 to 1941), pp. x+592+xxvi: by R. Sathianathanier M.A., L.T., Lecturer, The Annamalai University; Rochouse & Sons, Ltd., Madras 1942.

This is a brilliantly written college text-book. Its chief disadvantage however is its great bulk. But in spite of that it should be recommended for undergraduate students. If any *one* of the three volumes were to be particularly recommended, I would unhesitatingly recommend the first volume.—The author has a facile pen and a powerful imagination. He has painted on a broad canvas, and has thus been able to bring into relief many interesting details which are generally passed over in text-books. It is a pity that he did not try to give character-sketches of at least some of the principal personalities. Evidently he doesn't belong to that school of historians who maintain that the true history of a people is nothing but the lives of its great men.—The author evidently doesn't believe in a synthetic history of the whole of India. Like most of his predecessors in the field, he has treated every province of India as an independent country constantly at war with its neighbours. But an imaginative historian should also consider that political quarrels are not always born of malice. Oftener than not, they are due to the frustration of cherished ideals. In the case of India the ideal that always lured the people but was never realised was the political unity of the whole of this subcontinent. Hence the perpetual wars. Every competent ruler of every small province aspired to rule the whole of India. No competent monarch was satisfied with a part only. But the whole was too big even for the most competent monarch of those days! This has been the eternal tragedy of Indian history, and this point should be made clear to all our students. The first lesson that our students should be taught is that the endless civil wars which mar the pages of Indian history are primarily due to an irrepressible urge for political unity. In human life, however, the ideal is hardly ever attained while idealism is still a burning faith. This was the case in India as also in Rome. The political aspiration of Rome was realised only after the death of Roman spirit. In India too political unity was achieved only when she had ceased to have a politics of her own.—The author is visibly embarrassed when dealing with the present discontent in India. He would have done well to quote in this connection the following sentence from the speech delivered by Lord Bryce on April 17, 1907 on the Tercentenary of the First English Settlement in Virginia: "Without liberty there is no true law, because where law expresses the will not of the whole community, but merely of an arbitrary ruler or a selfish class, it has neither moral force nor guarantee of permanence".

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Brahmavidyā—the Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. VI, Part 2.

Date of Rāmatīrtha Yati, the Author of a Commentary on the Saṅkṣepaśārīrika *by* P. K. Gode.

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THE GAṄGA ERA

By M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA

The initial year of the Gāṅga era started by the Eastern Gāṅga rulers of Kaliṅga is still a riddle awaiting solution. No doubt, many scholars made many attempts to solve it, and each one has his own date to offer. The dates proposed for the initial year range generally from A.D. 494 to 498. The latest of the scholars to tackle this problem is Dr. R. C. Majumdar. He arrives at the conclusion that the epoch of the Gāṅga era lies between A.D. 550 and 557.

I do not propose to review here all that the previous writers had written on the subject and re-examine their arguments. Each one of them worked in earnest to arrive at the truth. In fact, it is because of their writings the subject has become much more clear and easy than before to comprehend in all its bearings. Yet, in spite of the attempts made so far, I am of opinion that the problem has not yet been satisfactorily solved, and that no solution offered so far is correct, the cause being the defective and fallible data taken into account to prove the case.

Almost all the previous writers on the subject based their arguments on the alleged contemporaneity of the neighbouring kings belonging to other dynasties like the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Eastern Cālukyas with the Early Gāṅga rulers of Kaliṅga and on the synchronistic references to events and occurrences in their records. This type of evidence is certainly valid and acceptable provided the foundations on which the chronology of those dynasties is built up are strong and sound. But it is not so either with the chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins or of the Eastern Cālukyas.

The bed-rock of Viṣṇukuṇḍin chronology has yet to be sought for. Besides the chronology, there was and still there is much controversy as to how to combine pedigrees furnished by the few Viṣṇukuṇḍin grants so far discovered into one complete scheme of genealogy. No two scholars agree in combining the pedigrees alike. When both the genealogy and chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins are so problematical and controversial there is no meaning in attempting to settle the starting point of the Gāṅga era with the help of another problem yet unsolved or rather not satisfactorily settled till now.

The Eastern Cālukyan chronology also offers the same difficulties though we are probably nearer now to truth than before. When the synchronism afforded by the Polamuru grants of the

Viṣṇukuṇḍin king, Mādhavavarman, and the Eastern Cālukya king, Jayasiṁhavallabha I, is not of much use in fixing either the chronology or the genealogy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings, it is futile to solve the riddle of the Gāṅga era by synchronistic references or by conjectures of contemporaneity.

Having seen the difficulties involved in the procedure adopted until now by the previous writers I make an attempt to solve this problem by internal evidence,—evidence afforded by the grants of the Early Gāṅgas themselves without any reference to other neighbouring dynasties or to their records.

Before proceeding to put forward any case, it is necessary to take into account and establish some facts which are of primary importance.

(i) The dates in the Gāṅga era found in the Early Gāṅga records which have been discovered so far, range from 39,[1] the date of the earliest Gāṅga grant, the Jirjingi plates of Indravarman, to 528,[2] the date of the latest grant so far discovered, the Chicacole plates of Madhukāmārṇava, son of Anantavarman.

(ii) Who is this Madhukāmārṇava of 528 G.E.? There are six kings[3] bearing the name of Kāmārṇava in the Early Gāṅga line. The fifth and the sixth Kāmārṇavas were two of the three sons of Anantavarman Vajrahasta IV. Of these the sixth is also called Madhukāmārṇava.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 281ff; *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. III, pp. 49ff.

[2] *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 272ff. The Department of Epigraphy read the date as 526. And every one who has been working at the history of Kaliṅga took it for granted. It was Mr. R. Subba Rao who correctly read it first as 528. The last figure in the date of the Chicacole plates is eight and not six.

A similar mistake was committed regarding the date of the Narsipatam plates of the Later Gāṅga King, Vajrahasta III also. According to Dr. Sten Konow, the editor of these plates, the grant registered therein was made in Śaka 967, on Monday, the 9th day of the Solar month of Mīna. Though the Śaka year is taken as expired or current the 9th day of Mīna happens to be Thursday and Friday and not Monday. On consulting the plates given in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, I found that what was read as six by Sten Konow is really eight. Then I referred the *Indian Ephemeris* to see if Monday falls on the 9th of Mīna in Śaka 987. In A.D. 1064, the 9th day of Mīna corresponds to Monday which falls on March 1st. So the Śaka year if taken as current, appears to be correct, and I believe that the date of these plates is A.D. 1064, March 1, Monday. The last figure in the date of the Chicacole plates of Madhukāmārṇava exactly resembles the middle figure in the Śaka date given in the Narsipatam plates. It is eight and not six.

[3] A long and complete pedigree of the Eastern Gāṅgas of Kaliṅga was given in one of the two sets of copper plate grants of Anantavarman Coḍa Gaṅga. One set of his plates merely copy the short pedigree given in the grants of his grandfather,

(iii) That the donors of the Early Gāṅga plates were the predecessors and forefathers of the Later Gāṅgas is not difficult to prove. It is true that the names of the Early Gāṅga kings end in *Varman,* like Anantavarman, Devendravarman, and Bhūpendravarman, etc.; yet, names like Guṇārṇava, Madhukāmārṇava, and Vajrahasta which are also found in the genealogy of the Later Gāṅgas indicate that the Early Gāṅgas were not different from the Later Gāṅgas and in fact that the former were the ancestors of the latter. This is conclusively proved by the Ponduru plates[1] of Vajrahasta, dated 500 G.E. They state that Vajrahasta was the son of Kāmārṇava. As such Madhukāmārṇava of the Chicacole plates, dated 528 G.E., was later than Vajrahasta, son of Kāmārṇava. The long pedigree of the Gāṅgas given in the plates of Anantavarman Coḍa Gaṅga shows that there were two kings bearing the name Vajrahasta (IV and V) who were the sons of Kāmārṇava IV and Kāmārṇava V respectively.

Since Vajrahasta of the Ponduru plates was earlier than Madhukāmārṇava of the Chicacole plates and they were not far removed from each other in point of time, the difference being only twenty-eight years it is not wrong to assume that Anantavarman, father of Madhukāmārṇava was no other than Vajrahasta who was himself the son of Kāmārṇava IV. Madhukāmārṇava of the Chicacole plates was therefore the son of Anantavarman Vajrahasta IV.

Similarly, Anantavarman, father of Devendravarman of the Simhipura plates,[2] dated 520 G.E., also may be safely identified with the same Vajrahasta IV.

Vajrahasta, the first king of the so-called Later Gāṅgas who was crowned in Śaka
960 or A.D. 1038. According to the short pedigree Anantavarman Coḍa Gaṅga's
grandfather, Anantavarman Vajrahasta was the third king bearing that name;
but according to the long pedigree given in the other set of plates of Anantavarman
Coḍa Gaṅga he was really the fifth king having that name. Similarly, while
Madhukāmārṇava or Kāmārṇava, the predecessor of Vajrahasta was the sixth king
bearing that name according to the long pedigree, he was the third according to the
short one. There was another Madhukāmārṇava—Kāmārṇava VII—who was the
son of Anantavarman Coḍa Gaṅga, the third of the Later Gāṅga rulers. I follow
above the long pedigree of the Eastern Gāṅgas of Kaliṅga given in the grants of
Anantavarman Coḍa Gaṅga.

[1] *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. IX, pp. 23ff.

[2] *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. III, pp. 171ff.

The above identifications suggest that the titles, Anantavarman and Devendravarman were borne by the Gāṅga kings alternatively—just as Rajakesarivarman and Parakeśarivarman were borne by the Coḷa kings. The truth of this conjecture is further borne out by the order of the titles of Anantavarman and Devendravarman assumed by the next three successive Gāṅga rulers, namely, Vajrahasta V, his son, Rāja Rāja I, and his grandson, Coḍa Gaṅga. Of these three Vajrahasta V and Coḍa Gaṅga were Anantavarmans, and Rāja Rāja I was a Devendravarman.

If Vajrahasta IV was an Anantavarman it follows according to the above arrangement that his sons, Kāmārṇava V, Guṇḍamarāja, and Madhukāmārṇava had the titles Devendravarman, Anantavarman, and Devendravarman respectively. Now, we have to determine who the Devendravarman of the Simhipura plates was—whether Kāmārṇava V or Kāmārṇava VI *alias* Madhukāmārṇava.

According to the periods of rule given in the long pedigree furnished by the plates of Anantavarman Coḍa Gaṅga, Kāmārṇava V ruled only for a short period of six months. Many scholars who have worked at the Gāṅga era identify this Kāmārṇava V with Devendravarman, the donor of the Simhipura plates without assigning substantial reasons for doing so. I have as much evidence as they have to identify him with Devendravarman Madhukāmārṇava. Until and unless I come across unequivocal evidence to prove that Kāmārṇava V issued grants during his short reign, and that the Simhipura plates necessarily belong to him I am inclined to identify Devendravarman of the Simhipura plates, dated 520 G.E., with Madhukāmārṇava *alias* Kāmārṇava VI of the Chicacole plates, dated 528 G.E.

There is another factor that favours such an identification. Rāṇaka Śrī Dharmakheḍi, son of Rāṇaka Śrī Bhīmakheḍi[1] of the Simhipura plates of Devendravarman, dated 520 G.E., was mentioned in another grant, namely, the Mandasa plates[1] of Anantavarman Vajrahasta V (III),[2] dated in his fifteenth regnal year, corresponding to Śaka 976.

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[1] According to the Simhipura plates his name is Bhīmakheḍi. But the Mandasa plates of Anantavarman mention him as Bhamakheḍi. I preferred the form Bhimakheḍi. Bhāmakheḍi might be the scribe's mistake.

Now, Dharmakheḍi, the feudatory of Anantavarman Vajrahasta V might have also been a younger contemporary and a subordinate of Vajrahasta's immediate predecessor, Devendravarman Madhukāmārṇava. So, Devendravarman of the Simhipura plates, dated 520 G.E., may be taken to be identical with Madhukāmārṇava,[3] son of Anantavarman—Vajrahasta IV.

(iv) Since the coronation date of Vajrahasta V is Śaka 960 or A.D. 1038 and the period of rule of his predecessor, Madhukāmārṇava is 19 years, it is evident that the latter ruled from Śaka 941 to Śaka 960 or A.D. 1099 to 1038. Supposing for arguments' sake that 520 G.E. of the Simhipura plates and 528 G.E. of the Chicacole plates correspond respectively to the initial and last years of rule of Devendravarman Madhukāmārṇava then the initial year of the Gāṅga rule with which the Gāṅga era began, must fall between the years Śaka 421 and Śaka 432 or A.D. 499 and 510. The initial year of the Gāṅga era must, therefore, be sought for between Śaka 421 and 432 or A.D. 499 and 510.

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[1] *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 175ff.

[2] Though the grant registered in the Mandasa plates was actually made by the Kadamba king, Dharmakheḍi, who was a subordinate of Anantavarman Vajrahasta the charter may be said to have been issued by his over-lord or with his approval.—*Vide* my article, 'A note on the Mandasa plates of Anantavarman', *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XII, pp. 21ff.

[3] Some are prone to identify Madhukāmārṇava of the Chicacole plates with his namesake, son of Anantavarman Coḍa Gaṅga (*vide Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, pp. 177ff. 'The Epoch of the Gāṅga Era', by Dr. R. C. Majumdar). But such an identification is not tenable for this reason. The date of the Ponduru grant of Anantavarman, *alias* Vajrahastadeva IV, son of Kāmārṇava IV is 500 G.E. If the donor of the Chicacole plates is taken to be the son of Coḍa Gaṅga then there must be a difference of one hundred and four years in time (the cumulative period of rule of Anantavarman Vajrahasta V—32 years, + Devendravarman Rāja I—7 years, + Anantavarman Coḍa Gaṅga—65 years = 104) between Madhukāmārṇava, son of Anantavarman Coḍa Gaṅga, and Anantavarman Vajrahasta of the Ponduru plates even if 500 G.E. is taken to be the last year of rule of the latter. But actually it is not so. The difference is only twenty or twenty-eight years.

The identification of Vajrahasta of the Ponduru plates with even Vajrahasta V, father of Rāja Rāja I Devendravarman cannot hold good because of the great difference in years in point of time between him and Madhukāmārṇava, son of Coḍa Gaṅga. Madhukāmārṇava of the Chicacole plates has, therefore, necessarily to be identified with Madhukāmārṇava, son of Anantavarman Vajrahasta IV.

(v) There is yet another important factor to be determined. Now we have to find out the system of reckoning, whether Pūrṇimānta or Amānta, that was in vogue during the rule of the Early Gāṅgas of Kaliṅga.

A study of the Early Gāṅga charters reveals the fact that some of them furnish two sets of dates, one the actual date of the grant, and the other, the date of issue of the charter to the donee. Instances of this kind may be seen in the grants issued by Indravarman of 128 G.E.,[1] Indravarman of 137 G.E.,[2] and by Devendravarman of 183 G.E.[3] In the first of the three aforesaid inscriptions the actual grant was made at the time of a lunar eclipse in the month of Mārgaśira and the charter was given to the donee on the 15th day of the month of Chaitra. Kārtika śu. 15 and Pusya di. (dina) 20, and Māgha Śu. 8, and Śrāvaṇa di. (dina) 20 are the two sets of dates found in the remaining two grants of Indravarman of 137 G.E., and of Devendravarman of 183 G.E. respectively. Thus, we see that some of the Early Gāṅga grants furnish details in dates referring to the time of the actual grant and of the issue of the charter.

Without giving any details some other grants of the Early Gāṅgas state only the occasion when the grant was made and mention the date in years in the Gāṅga era.

There is yet another variety of Early Gāṅga grants. These state the occasion or mention the date with or without specifying the month when the grant was made; and furnish the details of the date of issue of the charter.

The first two types of grants do not in any way help us in our enquiry. The third variety proves very useful. The Urlam plates[4] of Hastivarman may be classed under the third variety. These plates give two sets of dates; but yet one set is not different from the other. These plates register a grant made on the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārtika. The charter was issued in the 80th year of the Gāṅga Era on the eighth day of the month of Kārtika. This grant makes it abundantly clear that the Pūrṇimānta system of reckoning was followed during the rule of the Early Gāṅgas, since the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kārtika was the 8th day of that month which began with the dark fortnight and ended with the Pūrṇimā *tithi* of the bright fortnight.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 119ff.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 360ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 130ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 330ff.

One more instance of this kind that confirms the above conclusion may be cited. The Tekkali plates[1] of Devendravarman, dated 192 G.E., register a grant made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the Pūrṇimā *tithi*. The month in which the eclipse occurred was not stated in the text portion of the grant. Another date is given in the end, the date of issue of the charter is given both in words and figures as 192 G.E., the 30th day of the month of Māgha. The thirtieth day of the month of Māgha coincides, according to the Pūrṇimānta reckoning, with Pūrṇimā, the last day of the bright fortnight. The lunar eclipse mentioned in the grant, therefore, may be taken to have occurred in the same month of Māgha and the charter also to have been issued on the day of the grant itself.

After recounting the factors and establishing some facts that are necessary and useful to our purpose I now give below the grants of the Early Gāṅgas which form unassailable and infallible evidence in solving the problem of the Gāṅga era:—

(i) The Siddhantam plates[2] of Devendravarman:

These plates register a grant made to a Brahmin by King Devendravarman at the time of Dakṣiṇāyana puṇyakāla or summer solstice. The charter was issued in the year 195 G.E., on the 5th day of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa. Since the solar month of Karkāṭaka with which the Dakṣiṇāyana begins, corresponds to the Bengal solar month of Śrāvaṇa the Dakṣiṇāyana referred to in the text of the grant must have occurred on the 5th day of the dark fortnight of Pūrṇimānta on Śrāvaṇa or on the 5th day of the dark fortnight, (i.e. on ba. 5) of the Amānta month of Āṣāḍha in 195 G.E.

(ii) The Tekkali plates of Devendravarman:

As stated already the grant recorded in these plates was made at the time of a lunar eclipse which occurred on the 30th day or on the pūrṇimā *tithi* of the pūrṇimānta Māgha—the date of issue of the grant.[1]

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[1] *Ind. His. Quar.*, Vol. XI, pp. 300ff.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 212ff.

Now with the help of the astronomical data furnished by these two grants we have to solve the problem of the Gāṅga era. In the year 192 of the Gāṅga era there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Māgha, and in 195 G.E. Karkāṭaka Saṁkramaṇa or Dakṣiṇāyana fell on the 5th day of the dark fortnight of Amānta Āṣāḍha.

As stated above the initial year of the Gāṅga era must be sought for between Śaka 421 and 432 or A.D. 499 and 510. So, 192 years after 421, i.e., after Ś. 613 and before Ś. 624 there must be a lunar eclipse, in the month of Māgha.

On consulting the Indian Ephemeris we find only one lunar eclipse recorded in the month of Māgha on Jan. 13th in Ś. 618-19 or A.D. 696-97 within that period, that is, between Ś. 613 (421 +192) or A.D. 691 and Ś. 624 (432 +192) or A.D. 702. So, deducting 192 from Ś. 618-19 we get Śaka 426-27 or A.D. 504-05 for the initial year of the Gāṅga era.

If this result is correct then Dakṣiṇāyana must fall on Āṣaḍha ba. pañcamī in the Śaka year 621 (426 +195) or A.D. 699. According to the Ārya Siddhānta, Dakṣiṇāyana puṇyakāla falls on June 22nd at 46 ghaṭikas, 18 palas after mean sunrise and Āṣāḍha ba. pañcamī ends at 32 ghaṭikas 17 palas after mean sunrise in the Śaka year 621 or A.D. 699.

It may therefore be said that the epoch of Gāṅga era began in the Śaka year 426-27 or A.D. 504-05 between June and January of that year.

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[1] Besides the two grants cited above there are some which register gifts made at the time of a solar eclipse. These do not specify the months in which they occurred, but give at the end of the inscription the date in the Gāṅga era without even mentioning the month or furnishing any other details useful for calculation or verification. These grants do not help us in any way and there is nothing to warrant that the solar eclipses mentioned therein actually occurred in the years of the Gāṅga era given at the end of the inscription. A study of some of the Gāṅga grants enables us to know that at least in some cases the charters were issued long after the actual date of the grant. This shows that the donee was in possession of the land or agrahāra given him from the date of the actual grant and the royal charter recording the gift was given him some time later—after a lapse of some months (or even years). Hence Gāṅga grants mentioning solar eclipses need not be taken into account at all.

BODHICITTA IN TANTRIC BUDDHISM

By S. B. DASGUPTA

The Vajrasattva-self has been spoken of as the *Bodhicitta* in the Buddhist Tantras. Let us have a somewhat detailed discussion on the nature of the *Bodhicitta* as conceived of in esoteric Buddhism. In a general sense *Bodhicitta* is a state of the *citta* itself where there is a strong resolution for the attainment of perfect wisdom (*bodhi*), combined with the strong emotion of universal compassion. Thus the *Bodhicitta* presupposes two elements in the *citta*, viz., *śūnyatā* (i.e. the knowledge of the nature of things as pure void) and *karuṇā* (universal compassion). This *Bodhicitta* with the elements of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* in it, marches, after its production (*utpāda*) upwards through ten stages and in the *dharma-megha* state it attains perfection.

In the second chapter of the *Śrī-guhya-samāja* we find a detailed discussion on the nature of the *Bodhicitta*,—but from what is discussed there nothing can be clearly understood of its nature. The lord is approached by the *Tathāgatas* of the assembly to explain to them the nature of the *Bodhicitta*. He does not reply to their question directly, but asks the *Tathāgatas* to produce the *citta* in the form of the body (*kāya*) and the body in the form of the *citta* and the *citta* in the form of the speech (*vāk*). The implication seems to be that in the ultimate realization there remains no difference among the three elements of body, speech and mind,—no such difference exists in the ultimate nature of things, which is essentially uncreated. The *Tathāgatas* then realize that all origination is spoken of about what is essentially unproduced. The lord then becomes absorbed in a special kind of meditation and exclaims: 'The meditative realization of negation as a positive realization cannot be realized as a positive realization; for this reason, a positive is not a positive and the positive realization cannot be explained.'[1] Then *Vairocana Tathāgata* exclaims in his meditation on the nature of the *Bodhicitta*,—'My *citta* is devoid of all (notions of) existence, it is unassociated with any *skandha, dhātu, āyatana*,—or with subjectivity and objectivity, —it is without origination and is of the nature of void as are all the *dharmas* by nature'.[2] Lord *Akṣobhya* exclaims in his own turn,—'All existence is without origination; there is no *dharma*, neither any essence of the *dharmas*; all this is essenceless like the sky,—this is the immutable *bodhi*.'[1] We find an echo of the same principle in the exclamation of *Ratnaketu* (or *Ratnasambhava*), who says,—'Unreal are all the *dharmas*,—for they (*dharmas*) have no definition (*lakṣaṇa*); everything originates from the essencelessness of the *dharmas* (*dharma-nairātmya*), and this is called the immutable *bodhi*.' *Amitāyus* (*Amitābha*) in his turn gives another description of the *Bodhicitta*; he says,—'All the *dharmas* being without origination there is neither any existence nor any notion of existence. Existence of things is spoken of in exactly the same way as the existence of the sky.' Then comes the turn of *Amoghasiddhi*, who exclaims in his deep meditation that all the *dharmas* are effulgent by nature, they are perfectly pure like the sky,—they are neither knowledge nor comprehension by nature. Then they all join together in reciting the *gāthā* in praise of *Bodhicitta* which is described here as of the nature of pure truth, pure entity (*śuddhā-rtha*), originating from the non-essential nature of things, filling the Buddhas with pure knowledge (*bodhi*), without thought-construction, without any support, good all round, benevolent, the inspirer of the *bodhi*-mind,—embodiment of the practices for the *Bodhicitta*, immutable by nature.[2] In the seventeenth chapter of the same text the *Bodhicitta* has been described as the essence of the knowledge of all the enlightened ones (*buddhas*),—it is the source of all knowledge,—of the form of all knowledge.[3]

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[1] *abhāve bhāvanā-bhāvo bhāvanā naiva bhāvanā |*
iti bhāvo na bhāvaḥ syād bhāvanā no'palabhyate ||

[2] *Śrī-guhya-samāja* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), p. 12.

From the above we understand that the *Bodhicitta* is the same as *śūnyatā-jñāna*, i.e. the state of mind which is absolutely free from all kinds of subjectivity and objectivity. But we have already seen that *Bodhicitta* is not mere *śūnyatā*,—it is *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* harmoniously blended together. In the eighteenth chapter of the *Srī-guhya-samāja* we see that the *Bodhicitta* is defined as without beginning or end, quiescent, immutable in existence and non-existence; it is the Lord Himself,—and it is the unity of both *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*.[4] This definition of *Bodhicitta* has been commented upon in the *Jñāna-siddhi*, where it is said that by the epithet 'without beginning and end' is implied the absence of origination and destruction, and by that again is implied the all-pervading, unchanging and eternal nature of the *Bodhicitta*.

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[1] *Śrī-guhya-samāja* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), p. 12.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[3] *bodhicittaṁ kulaputra sarva-buddha-jñānānāṁ sārabhūtaṁ utpatti-bhūtaṁ yāvat sarva-jñānā-kāramiti* || —*Ibid.*, p. 138.

[4] *anādi-nidhanaṁ śāntaṁ bhāvā-bhāvā-kṣayaṁ vibhum* |
śūnyatā-karuṇā-bhinnaṁ bodhicittam iti smṛtam ||

It is quiescent because all the *kleśas* (afflictions) end here; it is the lord, because it performs all the mundane as well as supra-mundane duties. It is *śūnyatā* because of the essencelessness of all the *dharmas*,—and it is *karuṇā* because of the resolution in it of elevating all the beings to the state of perfect wisdom, and helping them in attaining perfect peace.[1] It is eternal, resplendent, pure, the abode of all the jinas,—it includes all the *dharmas* within it,—it is divine and is the cause of the whole universe.[2] In a *Dohā* of Sarahapāda it has emphatically been declared,—'He who is absorbed in the void without compassion can never attain the excellent path; he, on the other hand, who thinks only of compassion never attains liberation even in thousands of births.[3] The Yogin who can combine together both *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* remains neither in existence (*bhava*) nor in *nirvāṇa*.

Śūnyatā (vacuity) and *Karuṇā* (compassion): As *Prajñā* (wisdom) and *Upāya* (expedience).

Thus we see that the two elements that join together like water and milk to produce *Bodhicitta* are *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*. *Śūnyatā* on the whole represents pure knowledge, it is the static truth; while *karuṇā* represents the dynamic force,—the moral inspiration that prompts one to find oneself universalized in an emotion of universal compassion. This pure knowledge about the universe as a whole, supplemented by the inspiration of compassion that induces a man to moral activities for the uplift of the whole universe, is the highest truth,—this is the *Bodhicitta*, and to obtain it is the sole aim of all the Mahāyāna Buddhists.

These *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* are more often known in esoteric Buddhism as *prajñā* and *upāya* and the reason behind this terminology is not also very far to seek. *Śūnyatā*, as we have seen, is perfect knowledge, and so it is termed as *prajñā*. But this *Śūnyatā* or *prajñā* is passive by nature; the religious or spiritual inspiration is supplied by the active emotion of compassion, and therefore compassion is the dynamic element of the religious life,—it is the means or the expedience (*upāya*) for the realization of the highest goal. *Prajñā* is the one universal principle,—the oneness as the 'suchness' (*tathatā*) underlying the diversity of phenomenal world, while the *upāya* is the principle that brings down our mind again to the world of particulars; it is for this reason that through *prajñā* one is purified, while *upāya* draws one's perfectly purified mind down to the world of particulars where the helpless beings are found suffering the miseries of life. This *upāya* prompts man to all sorts of benevolent activities for the removal of sorrow,—but these moral activities are always associated with and guided by *prajñā* which is the ultimate principle of purification, and thus these activities for the uplift of beings cannot leave any good or bad impression as *saṁskāra* on the mind of the man,—so that by these activities he is never again bound in the snare of *vāsanā* and *saṁskāra* and consequently in the cycle of birth and death. Again, we have seen that *prajñā* or *śūnyatā* gives us the *pāramārthika* or the ultimate truth where there is no suffering neither happiness and so no scope is left for the spirit of benevolence; it is for this reason that *prajñā* should always be accompanied by *upāya* which draws our attention again to the world of sufferings and then one is inspired to sacrifice one's own salvation to remove the miseries of the suffering world.

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[1] *Jñāna-siddhi* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), pp. 72-73.

[2] *nityaṁ prabhāsvaraṁ śuddhaṁ bodhicittaṁ jinā-layam |*
sarva-dharmamayaṁ divyam nikhilā-spada-kāraṇam ||
—*Prajño-pāya-viniścaya-siddhi*, Ch. II, Verse 29.

[3] *karuṇā chaḍḍi jo suṇṇahi laggu |*
ṇaü so pāvaī uttima maggu ||
ahavā karuṇā kevala bhāvaī |
jamma-sahassahi mokkha ṇa pāvaī ||
suṇṇa karuṇa jaī joüṇu sakkaī |
ṇaü bhave ṇaü ṇivvāṇe thakkaī ||
—Dr. P. C. Bagchi's Edition, p. 29.

The identity of the conception of *prajñā* with that of *śunyatā* is well known in the whole range of Buddhist philosophy. To realize the void-nature of the *dharmas* is to attain perfect wisdom, and so *śūnyatā* and *prajñā* have the same implication. But the term *upāya*, which is rather a technical term, deserves our special attention. On the authority of Suzuki we see that these conceptions of *prajñā* and *upāya* are found already in Aśvaghoṣa. He says in his '*Awakening of faith in Mahāyāna*' (*Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda-sūtra*) that Enlightenment *a priori* has two attributes,—viz. (i) Pure wisdom (*Prajñā*) and (ii) Incomprehensible activity (*upāya* ? *karuṇā*).[1] We find Nāgārjuna using the word *upāya* in the sense of *karuṇā*.[2] In the '*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-ṣūtra*' the missionary activities, mainly in the form of preaching the truth among the lay people to remove the veil of their ignorance and to enable them to realize the truth, have been said to be the *upāya-kauśala* (the dexterity of expedience).[3] In the *Bodhipakṣya-Paṭala* of the *Bodhisattva bhūmi*[4] we find this *upāya-kauśala* divided into twelve kinds in all: six kinds from the internal side concerning the adoption of the religion preached by Buddha, and six kinds from the external side concerning the fruition of the essence.[1] Here also *upāya* generally means the missionary activities of the Bodhisattva after inspired by great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*) for the beings. Thus the word *upāya* became synonymous with the word *karuṇā* and in the Buddhist Tantras the terms *prajñā* and *upāya* are extensively used to imply *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*. We always find that *prajñā* and *upāya* must always be mixed together to attain the *Bodhicitta*. We find in the *Hevajra-tantra*, that *kṛpā* or compassion is the *upāya* and that is the Yogin, and *śūnyatā* as the denial of all sufficient reason is the *mudrā* (the great woman) and the inseparability of the two is the *Bodhicitta*.[2] The commentary makes the position clearer. It says that the state of mind that feels the self-sameness in all the beings is compassion, and it is the 'great means' (*upāya*) as it is the means of attaining perfect enlightenment;—and that is also the Yogin,—for, that is the cardinal principle of a Yogin. The *mudrā* is the *prajñā*, for she is the *śūnyatā* in the sense of the non-production of all the *dharmas*,—and she is the non-production of beings because nothing can originate either from the self or from others or from the combination of both or from something other than their combination.[3] It has been said by Ārya-vimala-kīrtti,—'*Upāya*, when separated from *prajñā* is bondage, and *prajñā* without *upāya* is also bondage; whereas both *upāya* with *prajñā* and *prajñā* with *upāya* are liberation. Their commingling, through the instructions of the competent teacher, like the inseparable co-existence of the lamp and the light, will conduce to success in realizing the real nature of the self and the *dharmas*'.[4] It is therefore prescribed that all the accessories that are to be performed by the Yogins for the attainment of the highest knowledge must be associated with the unity of *prājña* and *upāya*.[5] The cardinal principle of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, says the *Ḍākinī-vajra-*

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[1] P. 66. Also Cf. p. 99. Suzuki's Translation.

[2] Cf. *mahā-karuṇo-pāya-puraḥsaram*, etc.—*Mādhyamika-vṛtti*, Lévi's Edition, p. 2.

[3] See the second chapter of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* (*Upāya-kauśalya-parivarto nāma dvitīyaḥ*).—Pp. 28–58 of The Bibliotheca Buddhica Publication.

[4] It is but the fifteenth section of the *Yogācārabhūmi* of Vasubandhu.

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[1] *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, edited by Unrai Wogihara, Tokyo, p. 261.
For a detailed discussion on the divisions of 'Upāya-kauśala' see *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, pp. 261–272.

[2] *kṛpo-pāyo bhaved yogī mudrā hetu-viyogataḥ* |
śūnyatā karuṇā-bhinnaṁ bodhicittam iti smṛtam ||
—*Paṭala* X, MS., p. 30(A).

[3] *kṛpe'ty ādi* | *sarva-sattveṣv ātma-samatā-cittaṁ kṛpā saiva paramo-pāyaḥ* | *samyak-sambodhi-prasādhano-pāyatvāt* | *sa ca yogī* | *yogināṁ pradhāna-dharmatvāt* | *mudrā prajñā kāsāv ity āha* | *śūnyatā sarva dharmāṇām anutpādaḥ* | *kathaṁ anutpādaḥ śūnyatā* | *āha* | *hetu viyogataḥ* | *svataḥ parata ubhayato'nubhayataḥ sarva-bhāvānāṁ anutpatteḥ* | *anutpāda-lakṣaṇā śūnyatā* | *taiva paramā prajñā—Hevajra-pañjikā*. MS. p. 41(B).

[4] Quoted in the *Kudṛṣṭi-nirghātanam* of the *Advaya-vajra-saṁgraha*, p. 2.

[5] *Advaya-vajra-saṁgraha*, p. 2; also p. 55.

pañjara, is the *citta* shining in a state of unity of both *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*.[1] In the *Prajño-pāya-viniścaya-siddhi* it is said that the essencelessness of the *dharmas* in the sense of the negation of all subjectivity and objectivity is called *prajñā*. Compassion is said to be *rāga* (affection) because it gives happiness (*rañjati*) to all the beings who are distressed with infinite sufferings. This compassion is like a boat which brings all beings to the favourable shore, and it is for this reason that this compassion is called the *upāya*. The commingling of this *prajñā* and *upāya* like the mixture of water and milk in a state of non-duality is called the *prajño-pāya*.[2] It is an absolutely pure state free from subjectivity and objectivity, free from the mud of reality and unreality—from the definition and the defined; it is neither duality, nor non-duality—it is quiescent—all good—all pervading, immutable and only to be intuited within; it itself is the wonderful abode of all the Buddhas—the divine *Dharmadhātu*,—from it emanate all the three *kāyas*, the three *yānas*, innumerable *mantras*, *mudrā*, *maṇḍala*, *cakra*—all gods, demons, ghosts, men and everything else;—it is like the wish-yielding gem (*cintāmaṇi*)—a combination of both enjoyment and liberation (*bhukti-mukti-padam*). In the chapter on the meditation on the ultimate truth (*tattva-bhāvanā*) of the *Prajño-pāya-viniścaya-siddhi* it has been said that the truth is both *prajñā* and *upāya* combined together. It is *prajñā* as it is the absence of all phenomenalization (*niṣprapañca-svarūpatvāt*), and it is compassion, because like the wish-yielding gem it does everything for the good of the beings. Supportless is *prajñā*, and supportless is the great compassion; they should be united together like the union of the sky with the sky. In that stage there is no thinker—no thought—nothing to be thought of; there all seeing of sights, hearing of sounds,—mutterings, laughings—enjoyment—doing of all deeds,—all become *yoga* for a man.[1]

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[1] *śūnyatā-karuṇā-bhinnaṁ yatra cittaṁ prabhāvyate* |
so hi buddhasya dharmasya saṅghasyā'pi hi deśanā ||
—Quoted in the *Advaya-vajra-saṁgraha*, p. 26.

[2] *rañjaty aśeṣa-duḥkhaughā-nutthaṁs tu duḥkha-hetutaḥ* |
sarva-sattvān.yatas tasmāt kṛpā rāgaḥ pragīyate |
upānaty abhimataṁ yan naukevā'nukūlataḥ |
sadā'nukūla-yogena saivo'pāyaḥ prakīrtitaḥ ||
ubhayor melanaṁ yac ca salila-kṣīrayor iva |
advayā-kāra-yogena prajño-pāyaḥ sa ucyate ||
—*Prajño-pāya-viniścaya-siddhi*, p. 5.

For the first line, viz., *rañjaty aśeṣa*, etc. MM. Bidhuśekhara Śāstrī suggests the following correct reading (with the help of the Tibetan Translation):—

rakṣaty aśeṣa-duḥkhaughāt rāgeṇa duḥkkha-hetutaḥ |

And for *yannaukevā'nukūlataḥ* he suggests *yallokābhimataṁ phalam*.
—Vide *Modern Review*, 1930, October.

It is said in the *Citta-viśuddhi prakaraṇa* that as by the rubbing of two logs of wood fire is produced which is pure in the beginning, in the middle as well as at the end, and which shows everything by its illumination, so also by the union of *prajñā* and *upāya* the pure and luminous wisdom of the Yogin is produced. The absolutely pure *dharma-dhātu*, that is obtained by properly churning the milk of *prajñā* and *upāya*, is the destroyer of both pleasure and pain.[2]

Cosmological and Ontological Aspects of *Prajñā* and *Upāya*

We have hinted before that the conceptions of *prajnā* and *upāya* were given a cosmological and ontological significance. *Prajñā* is the passive principle as the *dharma-kāya* or the 'thatness' (*tathatā*) with perfect purity and perfect knowledge in her; but the whole world (i.e. the *sambhoga-kāya* and the *nirmāṇa-kāya*) is a display of the *upāya*, and the world-process itself in the form of the

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[1] *Prajño-pāya-viniścaya-siddhi*, ch. iv, verses 10–16. In the *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha* we find it discussed whether Buddhahood is to be attained only through *prajñā* or only through the activities of *upāya*. The answer is that Buddhahood is to be attained neither through *prajñā* alone nor through *upāya* alone; but if the essence of both *prajñā* and *upāya* becomes of the same nature—if the two become inseparably connected—become united into one then and then only a Sādhaka becomes entitled to the highest reality which is at once enjoyment and liberation.

idānīm vicāryate | *prajñayā kevalayā kiṁ buddhatvaṁ syān na* (*no*, sic) *ced upāya-mātra-karmeṇā'pi* |

ucyate ce'dam, na kevalaṁ prajñā-mātreṇa buddhatvaṁ nā'py upāya-mātreṇa, kintu yadi punaḥ prajño-pāya-lakṣaṇau samatā-svabhāvau bhavataḥ etau dvayā-bhinna-rūpau bhavataḥ ekākārau bhavataḥ tadā bhukti-mukti iti.—(Bendall's edition, p. 32).

It is further said that the *citta* (i.e. the *Bodhicitta*) is neither affected, i.e. pleased (*rajyate*) by affection (*rāga*) or compassion or the *upāya* (*rāga=karuṇā=upāya*) nor is it displeased by indifference (*virāga=śūnyatā*, or *prajñā*); success is attainable only through the equalization of both *rāga* and *virāga*. It (*citta*) is of the nature of both *prajñā* and *upāya*,—and in the nature of the combination of both *prajñā* and *upāya* it attains the highest realization.

na rāgeṇa rajyate cittaṁ na virāgeṇa virajyate |
rāgā-rāgaṁ samaṁ kṛtvā mudrā-siddhis tu jāyate ||
cittaṁ prajñā-svarūpeṇa tathaivo'pāya-rūpakam |
prajño-pāya-svarūpeṇa sambitti . . . . *prajāyate* ||
—*Subhāṣita-saṁgraha.*

It is also said in the *Śrī-kāla-cakra-tantra*—that the Sahaja-body (*Sahaja-tanu*) or the *dharma-kāya* is neither *prajñā* nor *upāya*,—it is of the nature of both.

na prajñā nā'py upāyaḥ sahaja-tanur iyaṁ dharma-kāyo babhūva
prajño-pāya-svarūpaḥ khalu vigata-tamo-jñāna-vijñāna-vedāt |
—*Śrī-kāla-cakra-tantra*, MS. (Cambridge, Add. 1364), p. 106(B).

[2] Verses 93, 97.

sambhoga- and *nirmāṇa-kāya* is a means to lead all the sentient beings to the ultimate goal of perfect purification; this principle of passivity and the principle of activity are then the two aspects of the one absolute reality.

We have seen that the difference between *śūnyatā* and *kṛpā* is just like the difference between the lamp and the light and the unity of *śūnyatā* and *kṛpā* is also just like the unity of the lamp and the light. The import is that as light cannot exist without the lamp, so the lamp also is meaningless without light; exactly same is the case with *śunyatā* and *karuṇā*; *karuṇā* which is existence cannot be there without the void or the reality transcending both subjectivity and objectivity; but the *śūnyatā* also loses her meaning without there being the world of existence,—and so there is an inseparable connection between the two like the relation of any artificial effect with eternity.[1] The world-appearance as a result of dependent origination is the grand bridegroom; had he not been there the bride *śūnyatā* would have been dead as it were. But, on the other hand, had this beautiful bride of *śūnyatā* been separated for any time from the bridegroom, he would remain eternally under bondage. So the relation between *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* is like the relation of inseparable conjugal love; the love between them is the most natural love (*sahajaṃ prema*) and so is it inseparable.[2]

Goddess Vārāhī who represents *prajñā* is spoken of as of the nature of knowledge whereas god Heruka representing *upāya* is spoken of as the knowable, and the *Avadhūtī-maṇḍala* (the circle of perfect purification) is formed by the combination of both of this knowledge and the knowable.[3] From all these it is evident that *prajñā* is conceived as the absolute knowledge which is negative and passive, whereas *upāya* is the positive and active principle. *Prajñā* is conceived as the female element while *upāya* is conceived as the male element.

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[1] *bhāvebhyaḥ śūnyatā nā'nyā na ca bhāvo'sti tāṁ vinā* |
avinā-bhāvam iyat kṛtaka-nityayoriva ||
—*Advaya-saṁgraha*, p. 24.

[2] *Ibid.*, *Prema-pañcaka* (1–3). In the *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha* also we find that the nature of *prajñā* is non-existence, whereas the nature of *upāya* is existence; essencelessness is *prajñā* and of positive nature is *upāya*. So the whole truth will be the unity of both these positive and negative aspects.

atra evā'bhāva-lakṣaṇā prajñā bhāva-lakṣaṇa upāya iti |
tathā co'ktaṁ, niḥsvabhāva-lakṣaṇā prajñā svabhāva-lakṣaṇa upāya iti tasmāt prajño-pāya-vidhānena coditaḥ | —pp. 31-32 (Bendall's edition).

In another place it is said that *prajñā* is of the nature of essencelessness while *upāya* is the cause of all existence.

niḥ-svabhāva-svarūpeṇa prajñā-bhagas tu saṁsthitaḥ |
upāyo bhāva-janako bhadrapādena deśitaḥ || —*Ibid.*, p. 70.

In the Sanskrit portion of the *Ḍākārṇava* (edited by MM. H. P. Śāstrī) *upāya* and *prajñā* have been spoken of as existence and extinction (p. 158).

[3] *Ḍākārnava* (Śāstrī's edition), p. 157.

These conceptions of *prajñā* and *upāya* have important ontological and cosmological bearing on the four philosophical systems of Nepalese Buddhism.[1] The Svābhāvika school holds that there is no immaterial ultimate truth in the form of the soul substance; matter is the primordial substance from which the world proceeds. This matter as the ultimate substance has two modes which are called *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*, action and rest, dynamic and static, concrete and abstract. Matter is eternal as a crude mass (however infinitely attenuated in *Nivṛtti*) and so are the powers of matter. These powers are not only active but also intelligent. The proper state of existence of these powers is the state of *nivṛtti* or rest as the abstraction from all phenomena. When these powers pass from the state of rest into their causal and transitory state of activity the phenomenal world comes into existence and it again ceases to exist when the powers repass from *pravṛtti* to *nivṛtti*. This *nivṛtti* is the *prajñā*[2] and the *pravṛtti* is said to be the *upāya*. *Prajñā* is said to be the abstraction from all effects while *upāya* is the concretion of all effects or activity.[3] In the Aiśvarika school these *prajñā* and *upāya* are deified as *Ādi-Prajñā* and *Ādi-Buddha* and the visible world is said to be created from the union of the two. According to the Prajñikas[4] Buddha as the principle of active power first proceeds from *nivṛtti* or *Ādi-Prajñā* and then associates with her and from their union proceeds the actual visible world. The principle is symbolized as *Prajñā* being first the mother and then the wife of the *Buddha*.[5] The well-known triad of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha has often been explained as *Prajñā* (*Dharma*), *Upāya*

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[1] The systems are: (i) Svābhāvika, (ii) Aiśvarika, (iii) Kārmika, and (iv) Yātnika.

[2] *Illustrations of the Literature*, etc.—Hodgson, p. 149.

[3] *Ibid.*, page 148.

[4] A sub-division of the Svābhāvika school.

[5] Here it is interesting to compare with it the Śākta cosmological tradition of the Ādi-Śakti who is the mother of Śiva and again the wife of Śiva in creating the world. The above principle has often been explained also by the analogy of the Yoni. It is said, 'That Yoni, from which the world was made manifest is the *tri-koṇākāra-yantra*. In the midst of the yantra or *tri-koṇa* is a *bindu*: from the *bindu Ādi-Prajñā* revealed herself by her own will. From one side of the triangle *Ādi-Prajñā* produced Buddha and from another side *Dharma* and from the third side *Saṅgha*.' (Quoted by Hodgson, page 126.) It is also very interesting here to compare with it the well-known triangular *yantra* of the Hindu Tantras. Cf. also: *trikoṇākāra-sambhūta dharmodaya iti smṛtaḥ*—and from it originated the whole universe and all the gods and goddesses.—See *Acintyā-dvaya-kramo-padeśa*. MS. (Central Library, Baroda, No. 13124), page 113(A).

(*Buddha*) and the world (*Saṅgha*) produced by their union. 'Buddha' generally symbolizes the generative power. '*Dharma*' (or *Prajñā*) the productive power and their union produces Saṅgha.[1]

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[1] Cf. 'From the union of the essences of *Upāya* and *Prajñā* proceeds the world which is Saṅgha'. (Pūja Khaṇḍa) quoted by Hodgson, page 127. Also cf. *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, by A. Getty, p. 11.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S TRADE IN ARECANUTS (1600 to 1661) AND THE SEIZURE OF MĪR JUMLA'S SHIP

By J. C. DEY

'A great traffic was carried on (by Ceylon)', says Pyrard, 'to all parts, (of India) for whole ships are laden with it (arecanut) for conveyance elsewhere.' By 1610, according to Dr. Pieris who relies on the Documentos Remittidos Da India, 'the areca crop though not properly attended to, yielded eight thousand amanoes, valued at twenty thousand pardaos.' Ribeiro who came to Ceylon in 1640 pointed out that 'every year there (was) exported from the Kingdom of Cotta up to a thousand champanas of areca . . . . for this article is in great demand over the whole of India'. The normal annual export was thus easily above 30,000 tons. It was, according to the same writer, 'highly valued in the whole of India'. 'So great', says Father De Queyroz, the Portuguese chronicler, 'was the (merchant's) thirst for areca, that while its price there (in Candea) was formerly four larins, it was not available in the last days for 15: . . . . and there was no silver jewellery which was not disposed of to invest in areca, with the result that whatever the Portuguese had, went into that kingdom.' In this connection the demand for 'wax, sapan and other things' of Ceylon is also alluded to.

'The Captain-Majors of the arrayals', he continues, 'had at one time four fine villages wherein they had much areca, besides what they obtained with the arms of the King from other villages and from Candea through the Vidánas.'

Maetsuyker, the Dutch Governor of Ceylon (1646–50), however, thought in 1650 that though a 'large quantity of arecanuts is yearly obtainable in this Island, and the best quality of this side', 'it is an article of importance or value', 'and may therefore well be resigned, without prejudice to the Company, to private inhabitants'. But because of its connection through Asiatic dealings with the lucrative cloth trade of South India the Dutch decided to buy yearly 'a large quantity of arecanuts and (send) it by the ships returning from Persia, Surat, etc., to Coromandel obtaining with the proceeds useful assortments of cloth goods'. Later on, however, a considerable revenue was obtained by the Dutch from betelnuts.

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'Arecanuts' were 'much the most important item' in the products of Alutgama, Beruwella, 'Caliture', Maggone, etc., and trade in them was very lucrative, according to Van Goens, Commissary-General and afterwards Governor (1663). The Dutch officer also refers to 'the fine, heavy and durable timber' of Ceylon, the quest for which and arecanuts led (as we shall see later on) some Englishmen into captivity. The 'people of the King' also had stocks 'rice, sugar, cattle and goats, chickens, butter, etc.,' which Van Goens expected them to sell to the Dutch in exchange for 'cloth goods, salt, opium, copper, etc.'

Ladders made of areca trees were used for siege operations of those days. There is a reference by De Couto, for example, by 1560. In 1665, Pavilioen the officer in charge of Jaffna (N. Ceylon) says that along with 'paddy, plough oxen, . . . coarse cloth, cotton, iron, steel, different kinds of dry stuffs, tobacco, opium, etc., arecanuts were imported into the 'Commandment of Jaffnapatam'. The supply of betelnuts probably came mostly from other parts of the Island at this time.

The English Company used to obtain it through the usual commercial channels. But on a few occasions privateering also procured some. It formed, for example, a part of the merchandise plundered by the Expedition, and is mentioned in a list of prize goods dated 15th February, 1619.

In the same list we find logwood, rice, sugar, cocoanuts, and cinnamon also.

The two Malabari ships which the Hopewell seized on 20th March, 1628, carried cocoanuts, betelnuts and cardamum seeds. Predys 'cape Merchant of (Hall's) fleete' says that these Indian ships were then off Vijayadurga, later the stronghold of the famous privateers (and quasi-privateers), the Angrias. When chased, they took refuge up the river at the mouth of which that town was situated. The local authorities ransomed them for 9,000 'larees' (about 360 *l.*). Of this amount 4,000 were actually paid, 'which we thought better to take them nothing'. The English fleet was at the same time carrying on peaceful commerce. 'A brisk trade was carried on with the natives for cattle and sheep in exchange for red beads' on the 9th July. At cape Cabeceira, however, the English landed, and marching into the interior 'returned with some oranges and lemons and nineteen negers', after the inhabitants had fled in panic. Captain Slade's exploit in capturing a cargo of 'dried penang, (betelnut) is referred to, for example, in Bix's letter of 20th June, 1628'.

A number of cocoanuts and a quantity of 'cophra which is the meat within the cokernutts' (all captured goods) were sold at

Bantam the same year. We are also told on 21st December, 1628, that the flotilla from Bantam brought the captured 'areck or beetlenuts', cinnamon and red-wood to Surat.

Everyone in Bengal knows the story of an inspector of Police who was given a cow in order that he might have a chew of arecanuts and betel-leaf. They have become the symbolic equivalents of a gratification (often illegal) in India and Ceylon. It is, therefore, interesting to find in Halstead's letter of 16th April, 1622, from Ahmadabad a reference to this idiom. The document speaks of a European quasi-privateering attack on a 'Choule juncke'. The English factors were (according to this account) 'kept prisoners in' Mausuf Khan's 'howse four dayes and four nights'. 'Our hell-hound Governour' (the local Indian Magistrate) 'sayed wee were ransadoes and one with the (Dutch) and comanded the Kotwál (Police Superintendent) 'to keepe us saufe'. Afterward he 'bed the Cottwall let me (Halstead) free upon giveinge suertie . . . . (which was) given to content, yet nothinge could be well, till the Cottwall had somethinge to eate betle'. The cost of this 'betle' was Rs.25 (of those days). 'So wee agreed with him for 25 rupp(ees) besydes somethinge that his followers had, which I could noe wayes shunne, it beinge a custome that all which come in the common prisone must paye or have their clothes torne from their backs.'

In this connection it must be noted that Lewis Smyth writing to George Ball at Bantam says, in 1617, 'Since the Polema sent for him and gave him tobacco and serre (betel). He (an English factor) took it for such a kindness that at that time before he came home he promised to sell fifty baftas for him at the English house.' 'In Malabar', says Linschoten, 'this leaf is called Bettele', 'in Malaion Siri'. The offer of Pána-supárí is a recognition of social intimacy in India even today.

The English Company became deeply interested in its commercial possibilities, as the period under review progressed. By the close of 1617, for example, William Eason wrote to Sir Thomas Smythe from 'Firando in Japon' that he 'arrived at the bar of Syam the 19th January last past'. They succeeded in obtaining among other merchandise a lading of '450 cattes of bittel nuts, cost laden aboard, the sum of 0012 tayes'.

Siam was thus one of Ceylon's rivals, at this time.

A sale of betelnuts in Surat is referred to in Wylde's letter of 11th, 13th April, 1629. A lading of that commodity, arrack and coir in the Francis is spoken of by Surat by the close of 1639. Next year we find that 175 bags of betelnuts were obtained from Goa by Surat. The 'Supply' (of about 300 tons) which carried it was searched by the tenacious Dutch.

Francis Day, factor for the First General Voyage, is accused of investing 4,000 rials of eight in the betelnut trade, by 1642. Once he confessed 'hee would private trade soe deepe that hee would neither value his wages nor his stocke that hee putt in with the Company'. The betelnuts were said to be obtained through Tranqebar and brought to Madras. Shortly afterwards, four hundred packages of betelnuts were said to be brought for Day by the Hopewell. While on this voyage, Day and his friends, we may note incidentally, are said to have consumed two butts of Carey wine and two more of arrack, a part of it on an occasion when a great feast aboard the vessel took place, and 110 guns were fired.

According to Day's own version, the betelnuts cost him 400 to 500 rials, and were packed in 180 or 190 bags. Thirty bags were also brought on the same voyage for the Company.

Bowman tells us by the close of 1646 that Ceylon 'shipped' 'beetelnutts in great quantities' 'twice a yeare for Cost Cormondell etc.' It was 'worth heer (in Ceylon) commonly 10 Zerapheers a amanon (containing 27,000 nutts)'. We, however, find that according to Day who made a statement before the Committees by about that time, betelnut was purchased by 'the aminah by tale, which aminah contained 12,000 nuts and weighed 170 lb.' The goods were put in bags weighing 150 to 160 lb. each. Temple pointed out that an amona was a measure of five and three-quarter bushels.

Wylde's letter from Bantam of 1647 says that a 'Daines shippe . . . . brought four horses for a pischcash to the King of Candy, and are likely to gaine comerce with the Chingalas which are the natives of this place' (Zealon). Some of the lucrative merchandises of the Island are thus referred to.

'They trade here in cynamon, beetlenutts, and all sorts of grayne, which yields great proffitt one the Coast betwixt Trinckolamar and Metchlepatam'. 'Zealan', he adds, '(is a) place, I thinke man never sawe a better, I say only for the mannaging of the Companies affayres; for trimeing of there ships and for good tymber man never saw better in these parts, Madraspatam being but a dung hill to it.' On 12th October, 1651, the Assada Merchant after informing those interested of the withdrawal from Assada, reached Swally, with a cargo of gold and elephants' teeth. She was next employed on a voyage to Bhatkal to pick up ladings of betelnuts on the way.[1]

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[1] Pyrard II; Ceylonsche Archiefstukken, No. s. I and III; Marine Records, Mis. Vol. IV, No. 6; O.C. 1273; F.R.Sur. CII; L.R. VI, 582, 569; F.R.Mis. I; O.C. 1725, 1784, 2009; F.R. Sur. CII A, etc.

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A letter of 1654 alludes to what must have been a frequent annoyance of those days, a levy of 'custom upon petty things sold' 'in market, as beetle, herbes, etc.'

By about this time, the eagerness of the English to trade with Ceylon and purchase her products directly from the local inhabitants led to various ventures. The gaining of some vantage points for developing commercial relationships with the island entered their minds rather early during this period under review, and in the weakening of the Portuguese power, they saw another opportunity of fulfilling their desire.

'The Portugals', a letter from Persia (for instance) points out in 1632, 'doe dayly decline in the Indies; and noe question opportunitie wilbee offered, either at Syndie or Seland or other partes there adjacente, wherby to joyne issue with those people and settle a trade may prove very bennificiall.'

A few years later, the English are thinking of gaining certain commercial facilities as the result of an understanding with the Portuguese. 'This yeare, (1639) they (the Portuguese) have no succour from Portugall, so that they are very much distrest and oppressed by the Hollanders at Goa, Zeiloan and Mallacca . . . .

'Wee believe they would readily subscribe to furnish you (the Company) with pepper, cinnamon and as much freedome and security in some of theire forts (if not the fort itself) as wee can desire or they themselves owne . . . . They (the Dutch) intend now to assault Columbo, and it is thought they will carry it; and then the Portugalls may bid adiew to Zeiloan, whilest the Dutch may boast of being masters of all the spice countries in the universe, pepper excepted.'

Fourteen years later, Blackman and Pearse say, 'what the Dutch hold in Zelon we believe the Portugall would bee willing wee should enjoy, if by our assistance, they could bee driven out; which were noe hard matter to doe, if the Parliament would please to engage therein.' The forces of the Dutch according to them could be vanquished without great difficulty. 'Seven or eight figatts (and) four or five good ships would soone give them a law in India; for though they are too hard for us at present yet there strength is not soe greate as is imagined by us in England.'

They are also rather glad of the success gained by the Portuguese over the Dutch in Ceylon about two months previous to the date this letter bears. It was according to them an important victory. What happened was that Gaspar Figueyra de Cerpe, the Captain of Colombo, who was half a Simhalese defied, Homem, the Captain-General imprisoned him, gathered an army, and vigorously attacked the Dutch, in their fortifications at Anguruwatota, defended as the place naturally was by the waters of the Kálugaṅgá almost on three sides. Before the resolute onslaught of this half Asiatic Commander, the fortified post yielded after a gallant resistance of eleven days, and about 94 Dutchmen with a number of 'Lascarins' passed into captivity.

A letter of 28th August, 1658, again speaks of direct English trade with Ceylon. 'They (the Dutch) have taken three vessells belonging to some of our nation in the Bay, as they were trading to Zeylon, and Jafnapatam, seizing upon the goods, imprisoning the men, and traversing them from ship to ship.' Dutch documents point out that two English ships (not however belonging to the Company) were violating laws of war by supplying the enemy in Northern Ceylon with munitions. Their seizure was thus justifiable.

At last, Colombo,—the 'origin and mother' (according to the distracted Simhalese monarch) 'of all the evils that have come upon their island and on the natural kings of the same'—was attacked by the Dutch with characteristic vigour and determination in 1655-56.

'On that day, the 12th of May', says Father de Queyroz, 'there marched out to lay down arms, 94 soldiers, Captains and officers . . . . many of them sick and wounded and walking with sticks in hand; the casados who were not so numerous, but equally emaciated and feeble and with their banners displayed, drums beating, matches lighted, balls in their mouths' and carrying 'swords' and 'arquebases' when 'able to carry them'.

As these Portuguese warriors bruised and famished dragged themselves away from the possession they had held so long with full military honours, the Ceylonese historian could see not only the passing away of that European Country's colonial grandeur but also the opening of a new chapter in the history of his own.

With the perseverance and doggedness which characterized their tremendous eastern efforts during this age, the Dutch under their capable commissioner, Superintendent, Admiral and Commander Rycklof Van Goens took Tuticorin on 1st February, 1658. Next, the control over the pearl fisheries was to be rendered safe by the capture of Manaar. All Portuguese resistance was overcome. The cannon crashed through the enemy's ranks, and the seas were swept off their flotillas. De Menses and others laid down their lives, but nothing could save the doomed Portuguese. The islet passed under Dutch control after the pacific surrender of the fort. Then they sprang on Jaffna, where after a gallant resistance of more than two months, the Portuguese flag was hauled down, and the fort changed hands in June, 1658.

In the meantime the fort of Ham-en-Hiel guarding the entrance to Jaffna had fallen, because no drinking water was available.

'The enemy began the attack of the praça', says Father de Queyroz, 'on the 16th of March of 1658, and continued it up to the 23rd of June, the play of the artillery and mortars being incessant'. 'An ounce of tobacco reached the price of 20 patacas, five leaves of betel half a parado', and 'there was no Arrack to dress a wound'. 'The greatest battle was with famine and pestilence.'

The English documents of the period naturally take full cognizance of these momentous happenings in the history of the Eastern activities of European nations.

The letter of 12th April, 1656, written by Weale from Persia to Surat refers to the hostilities in Ceylon leading up to the surrender of Colombo. 'The day after departure of the Dyamont, the Dutch landed their Portugall prisoners that came from Zealone (five of their shipps being arrived in the road thence). Most of them had bine captaines and one gentleman of great quality; also a padre.'

'In number their was, 30, who, being cast on the shoare and not haveing wherewitall to buy themselves foode, came to the Companies house and desired us to furnish them with a place to lodge in, till wee could procure them a tranky to transport them to' their (then) chief station at Kung situated to the North of the Persian Gulf.

Again, a letter to the Company of 28th January, 1657, for example, says, 'Last yeare they (the Dutch) took Zealon and at this present by before Goa with 19 saile'. On 12th July, 1658, shortly after Jaffna had been taken by the Dutch Greenhill and Chamber wrote from Fort St. George, 'The Dutch are now become lords of all Zeylon, having taken Japhnapatan under command of Signor Ryckloffe Van Godes, and a threaten both St. Thoma and Nagapatam on this coast, to extirpate the Portugall utterly in these parts'. In a record of 16th October, of the same year, we find, 'The Dutch now (though with the loss of a great many of their men) hath purchased all Zelone to themselves'.

All this Dutch success in Ceylon was rather disconcerting to the English factors of those days.

Surat says on 18th January, 1659, that 'Mr. Hoddesdon' (employed some time in Cochin) 'is newly arrived from a port called Caile Velha' (Kayal to the south of Tuticorin). 'Hee had been at a place called Tutticoree three leagues further, but the Dutch had newlie made an agreement with the people to settle there and would not suffer them to receive any benefitt of the shoare, not so much as water.' The local people did not probably like this Dutch monopoly. They extended their hands in friendship to the English

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merchants, Tuticorin lying close to the Ceylon coast had heard all the news. The Dutch were held by Rájasiṁha to be guilty of breach of faith, and the Simhalese ruler was eager to see the last of them. 'The King of Zealone (was) much discontented with the Dutch for their false dealing after they had assisted them to take Colombo.' His soldiers had been kept out, and the terms of the surrender of the city arrived at without Rájasimha's previous approval.

Therefore, Kayal promised the English representative that 'if the English would settle a factory, there, they would procure them great priviledges' from their own Government and 'they were confident from Zealone they could procure store of cinnamon to be brought in small vessels that comes from thence to their ports'.

'Eight of the chiefe merchants of those parts' wrote 'a verie kind letter' to the English President, and he thought of sending Hoddesdon and others to establish 'a factory there in the most convenient place for shipping'. On 22nd August, 1659, the Committees enthusiastically approved of the project, and ordered, 'And therefore you may goe on in the provision of them, in severall sortes, as much as you can with convenience'. Hoddesdon died. But Travers and two others were sent to Kayal with money and 'Europe Commodities'. When the Society called there in course of the same year, the factors were able to lade it with calico and parcel of pearls from the waters of Manaar.

Surat instructed Travers to supply them with betelnuts, redwood, saltpetre, pepper and cowries.

By this time, the Calicut factory also began its existence and Masters was sent there to obtain lading of redwood and cardamoms. 'The wood though but little quantitye (was) selling now for more than two for one, and the pepper 70 and 80 per cent.' Masters was able to obtain 'at short warninge . . . . to procure the lading of the Vine for Mocho, of pepper, cardmoms, beetlenuts and ginger. . . . Wee intend two persons to reside there, and if so bee one of them have occasion to journey to Cannanore', 'the best place to procure cardamons, this may be done in the raine, tymes'. On 16th December, 1659, Masters was authorized to resort to privateering to keep other rivals out.

Cloth and cinnamon, however, proved to be the two chief attractions at Kayal. Travers was, therefore, instructed in 1660 to get into touch with 'our vackeele' (Wakíl) at Cochin, Antonio Galváo, and find out the pros and cons of having a factory at Cochin, Porakad or Quilon, 'for the procury of pepper and beetlenutts'. The Rajapur factors state in the same letter which refers to 'Sevagyes forces' (dated 4th February, 1680) that they 'intended to have fild her

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(the Rajapore merchant) with rice, beetlenutt, etc., and so sent her to Persia and Coung'.

The Dutch, however, were determined not to allow this English project to succeed. In 1660, it is reported that 'The Dutch will not vend any of the better sort (of cinnamon). Since their taking of Collumba they, having all in their owne hands will not vend any till it cometh to their desired price.'

'Experience also hath frustrated our hopes in the attaining any Zealone Cinnamon in Cale Velha', 'Cinnamon, according, unto order shall be provided, though it will be dearer then what hath been sent home.'

The Company's letter of 22nd August, 1659, had already pointed out that the price the Dutch were charging for their cinnamon at Surat was too dear. But nutmegs and mace were to be obtained from them. The officers must make an attempt to fetch the aromatic bark through Kayal. It was to be transported there in small ships from Ceylon.[1]

The story of English dealings with Mír Jumla (of this time) again throws some light on the attempt of the Company to trade directly in the products of the Island. It also incidentally illustrates the usual policy of the Company's servants to have their grievances against Indian powers redressed by resort to privateering against their vessels at sea, and the suitability of Ceylon's harbours for refitting English ships safely away from possible Indian vengeance.

'Mirgimola', says Tavernier, 'estoit un homme de grand esprit, et qui entendoit égalements bien la guerre et les affaires d'Estate'. This great soldier and administrator possessed extraordinary qualities. 'J'ay admire · la justeese', he continues, 'et la promptitude avec laquelle il répondoit aux requistes qu'on lui presentoit; donnant ses ordres par tout, et signant plusieurs dépesches, comme s'il n'eut eu qu'inseule affaire á expedier'. He began life as Mír Muhammad Ardistání, a merchant in Golkanda, in 1630. Commercial instinct helped to make him rich, and also enabled him to attract the attention of the then Sultán, 'Abdullah Qutb Sháh who after some time entrusted him with the conquest of the Karṇāṭaka from its Hindu princes. Ravaging and plundering the rich country he established nominally the power of his master, and really his own. Fort St. George thus passed under his jurisdiction, and Mír Jumla, as he was now styled, conferred on the Company various concessions in 1647. The Sultán grew jealous in the usual way of monarchs, of his over-mighty merchant-prince of a subject, and Mír Jumla consequently felt his head rather shaky on his shoulders.

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[1] O.C. 2378, 1461, 1725, 2318; Father De Queyroz, Conquista, Book V; F.R. Java, Vol. III, Pt. 3, 97, 626; H.T. I, XX, No. 586; XXI, No. 613; O.C. XXV, 2548, 2608; F.R. Java, Vol. III, Pt. 3, 96, 624; F.R. Rajapur, 79; F.R. Sur., Vol. 85, 14. The Company's Letter Books, Vol. II, 235.

He turned to the young Aurangzíb, and flirted both with Sháhjahán and Bijapur. 'Att present', write Curtis and Chambers to the Company on 27th December, 1655, 'the King of Golconda and the Nabob are att varience and noe man can tell who will have the preheminence'. 'If the king oremaster him' says another letter of 4th February, 'heele fly to the' Emperor for 'shelter who already begins to take his part'. The foolish 'Abdullah Qutb shortly afterwards imprisoned Muhammad Amín, Mír Jumla's son and the Nawáb thereupon threw himself openly into Aurangzib's arms. The Mughul Prince glad of the pretext, sent his son. Muhammad Sultán to Mír Jumla's relief, and followed his lieutenant shortly afterwards with another force. 'The reports run', says the English on 6th February, 1656, 'that this king will send an army against Golconda and Decan in favour of Miera Jimla . . . . who, haveing subdued the large territory of Ram Rajah is reported now to bee in rebellion, profferring Sha Jehan to doe his best to subject the whole country of Gulcondah to his more absolute camand'. The English were however troubled not a quarter as much by these political happenings as by the thought that 'Prince Oran Zeab' might seize their saltpeeter, and not pay for it.

As a result of this invasion, Aurangzíb, in 1656, compelled Golkunda to agree to a matrimonial alliance, hand over land and money, and pay tribute to the Emperor. By the middle of the same year, the 'Umbraw that hath left the King of Golkundahs service to come to him' was loaded with honours by Delhi where he had proceeded after the victory, and the career of the future Khánkhánán was thus auspiciously begun. 'Meir Jumla', says Jesson, 'upon his arrival into the presence of the King, was very courteously by him entertained, and made Dewon, haveing given him by His Majestie two ellephants, 202 lackeys and five lacks of rupees for his expenses, hee presenting the King with a dyamond uncutt weighing 160 ruttees, besides other precious stones of great value; which hee still continued to doe.' It has been sought to identify this stone with the famous Kohinúr which now lie among the crown-jewels of India's Empress. But there are some difficulties in the way of doing so. This Mír Jumla, the Mansabdar of six thousand, Grand Wazír and Muazzam Khán was however defied by the English factors on the Coast in a very unwise manner.

The English alleged that they had numerous grievances against him—'intollerable injuries and affronts offered us by the Nabobs

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ministers in all places, but more especially by .... Balliraw, as in stopping our goods, abusing our merchants, raiseing the juncans, or customes round about, nor suffering our people or ourselves to buy any paddy or rice in the country', etc. Circumstances also seemed to favour their designs for revenge. A rumour was afloat that Mír Jumla was dead: and another that he would not come to Karṇáṭaka again, as he had been imprisoned by Sháhjahán. Moreover, the very existence of their Company was by this time in danger, and the Company's servants did not therefore hesitate to adopt desperate measures, regardless of consequences. Then there was a Hindue rising against the Nawáb. So as a ship of Mír Jumla's floated past the English station at Fort St. George, some Englishmen darted out, boarded it, seized the crew and returned triumphantly with the prize to Madras Road which lay secure under their own guns. The captured ship—'his Mocho junck riding before Santomey'—was then searched for treasure. But, 'by searching the ship or examining the laskarrs and passangers can wee find any belonging to him'.

We see here the use of Lashkar in the sense of a sailor even in these days. 'Lascaryn' says Father Perera in connection with the term used in the seventeenth century Ceylon '(comes) from Pers(ian) lashkar, army, camp. The Dutch and the English adopted the word, which now survives in two forms (1) lascareem, a native soldier, (2) lascar, East India sailor or camp follower'. I may add that tribal levies on the North-West Frontier (of India) are also known as Lashkars, today. The 22nd Lashkar is referred to, for example, by Bháratacandra in connection with the Mughul expedition against the Bengali baron, Pratápáditya.

Again, referring to the Mughul army, Drake speaks in 1636 of the 'laskar, which were drowned in the passing of Brampore River'. 'Laskar' is also used for the 'camp' of the Mughul by the English in these days. Roe, for example, wrote to Kerridge and Rastell at Surat from 'the laskar' on the 5th January 1617.

To continue the story of the capture of the Nawáb's ship 'In which tyme', says, another English record, 'arrived the Nabobs jounke from Mecca, the taking of which we thought would be a means to end all this strife; which accordingly we tooke'.

The captured ship, however, wanted 'cables and anchors'. The English therefore, 'durst not detaine her longer' on the Coast, and 'sent her to winter at Jafnapatam upon Ceilon, perteyning to the Portugall, where, wee hope shee is safely arrived with 3,000 rials put aboard her'. This money was to be spent 'to trimme and fitt her with grownd tackle rigging, etc.: .... and the remaining stock to bee invested in' the products of Ceylon, 'Chey, elephants,

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betelenutts etc.' She was to 'course trade, and to returne' to the Coast 'with the first of the monsone, in January or February next'.[1]

Let us now turn to Knox's attempt to trade in betelnuts, etc. in 1660. Robert Knox, probably a native of Scotland, 'offered' 'the ship *Anne*, burthen 230 tunns, 20 gunns, 46 men' to the 'Committees' in 'November, 1657'. On the 'XIXth of December', it was 'ordered that the *Anne* should carry out 13,000 lb. stocke upon her; 5,000 lb. whereof being to be left at the coast or Bay, the other 8,000 lb. for the cargo to Persia'.

On the 'XXVIIIth' 'the *Anne* her charter party being signed, it was ordered that a Warrant should be made for 300 lb. Ymprested to the Owners of her' and also for a sum 'in liew of Primage and Average'. The letter to Madras of the '31th' says, 'The *Anne* is the ship w(hi)ch wee designe for Persia to carrie the cargo of 8,000 lb. vallew w(hi)ch wee desired that you and our Bay factors, should provide for that Port'. 'The Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into ye East Indies' issued a long series of instructions 'to Mr. William (sic) Loveland entertayned by us to proceede on a voyage in the ship *Anne* for the Coast of Coromondell Bay of Bengala and other parts and soe for England', the same day. 'This ship after her arrival at the coast shall voyage it into the Bay of Bengala to receive into her such goods and merchandizes as wee have ordered to be provided there for the Persian Marketts'. On the 1st of January 1658, 'it was Ordered' 'that ye ships *Blackmore*, *Marigold*, and *Anne* fall into ye, Downes with the first opportunitie', and 'the *Anne Fright* of London Capt. Rober Knox commander, on the One and twentieth day of January, set saile out of the Downs.' It reached Madras, and the Coast agents of the Company decided, that the *Anne* should go to Bengal with more than 5,000 lb. worth of merchandise, and lade ultimately for Gombroon. She reached there on 10th March, 1659, but the trade she expected was not forthcoming. 'The merchants of this place are so terrifyed with a powerfull and troublesome Shawbunder,' say Buckeridge and Morton from Gombroon on 2nd April, 'that they dare not as yett adventure to buy. So that from hence wee feare the *Anne* will not carry away any part of her returnes for the Companies accompt.' Leaving Persia on 4th April, Knox reached Surat where he was asked to undertake a voyage to the Archipelago which however he was not willing to do. 'Wherefore ye Presid(ent) and Council afores(ai)d in ye names and on ye behalfe' of the Company did 'by their pñts (presents) declare, and protest against ye sd. Capt. and all and every oth(e)r'. Shortly afterwards, the *Anne* voyaged to Madras, and Knox apparently consented to take her to the Archipelago, after all. Some time later she was at Masulipatam.

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[1] Ferguson; Captain Robert Knox: An Historical Relation of Ceylon etc., E.F.; O.C. 2865; F.R. Fort St. George, Vol. XIV, 141; F.R. Surat, Vol. CII A etc.; Anthonisz, Report on the Dutch Records, etc.

Then on the 19th of November, 1659, one of the cyclones for which the Bay of Bengal is notorious, inflicted heavy damage on that ship, and she was 'disenabled to come for England'. 'As we were Lading of Goods', says the younger Knox, 'to return for England being in the Road of Matulipatam, on the Nineteenth of November, Anno MDCLIX happened such a mighty Storm, that in it several ships were cast away, and we forcd to cut our Main-Mast by the Board'. There not being 'a fitter place .... to mend her defects', she had to make for 'Cuttiarow on Zeilon', from where she was to 'bringe backe a Freight of Beetle nutts to Porto Novo and there to take a Freight of Bale Goods for Atchaene and to returne backe to' the (Madras) Coast.

''Thomas Chambers, Esq., (since Sir Thomas) the Agent at Fort St. George,' says the Historical Relation, 'ordered, that the ship should take in some Cloth and go to Cotiar Bay, there to trade, while she lay to set her Mast'. 'Those goods belonged' to 'those Indian merchants of Porta Nova we carried with us'. 'If any inquire what became of the Cloth, of our Lading which we brought thither', the chronicler adds, 'they (the Ceylonese authorities) only took an account to see what it was, and so left it where and as it was before and there it remained, until both House and Goods rotted'.

The Chronicler however does not make a historically accurate statement when he says, 'At our first coming thither we were shy and jealous of the People of the Place, by reason our Nation never had any Commerce or Dealing with them'.

Knox reached his destination, but was detained by the Ceylonese with some of his sailors.

The object of the *Anne's* visit to Ceylon was three-fold. Firstly, she was to carry merchandise on behalf of Indian merchants. Fort St. George subsequently threatens that 'wee doubt not but to force the Freighters to make good their condicons' and reimburse the Company for its expenses. 'But they alledge withall that 40 of their men, as well as their goods, that went upon the *Anne*, are likewise in custody.' In this connection, Mr. Ferguson, who has thrown much light on this period, says, '(Knox was to) proceed to Kottiyar Bay in Ceylon, for the double purpose of selling the cloth to the natives there and repairing the ship'. Sir William Foster

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is of opinion that the *Anne* 'called on her way at Porto Novo to procure calicoes for trade with the natives, and she was instructed to procure betel-nuts in return, which she was to leave at Porto Novo, on her way back to Madras'. It seems to me that Knox was engaged, mainly, in 'carrying trade' with Ceylon. The Madras letter of 11th January, 1661, speaks only of 'a Freight of Beetle nutts' which apparently the Indian merchants on board were to procure in Ceylon after they had sold their cloth. Again by the close of that year, Madras says that 'the Freighters' had refused to pay, 'a penny' for 'all the goodes', they had 'laded on' 'the *Anne Frigott*'. But she also had 'the goodes .. for the money lent out on respondatia' on board.

Secondly, Knox wanted to recondition his damaged vessel. It is thus again brought to our notice that Ceylon timber was considered to be good enough for repairing the Company's vessels. The *Anne* actually, 'mended the greatest part of her defects, that could be outwardly discerned, with the timber and knees yt they cutt in the woods adjacent'. South India did not have good trees which could be used for this purpose and the forests of the North and the Centre were far off. Nor was this the first time that English ships had resorted to the Ceylon coast for such repairs. 'It hath bin a usuall thing', says Madras, 'for ships to goe in there' (to Trinkomali) 'and refresh and trim, both of ours and the Danes'. 'Cotiar in the Island of Ceylon (is)', points out Knox, 'a very commodious Bay, fit for our present Distres.' 'For a place for riding of shipps and comeing on share', says Madras again, 'neither the Dutch nor the Portugalls have the like in India as is Cuttiarro'. 'Capt. Charles Wylde, in the Barbadoes Merchant', was still sighing for it, having been, 'there in the *Sea Flower*, with Mr. Marmaduke Grimstone 15 years agonne'.

As this is another English contact with Ceylon during the period under review, we shall notice it in some detail. The Letter (of 11th January, 1661) from Madras says 'Capt. Charles Wylde and Mr. Jno. Burford with Mr. Grimstone in the *Seaflower* in their voyage to Bantam stayed there many dayes, and many of their men travelled up in the Countrey more than 30 miles'.

In his letter from Bantam to Surat of 14th July, 1647, Charles Wylde (then the purser on the *Bonito*) desired to present to the English President on a suitable occasion logs and charts of his voyages, and speak of 'the discovery of Zealan; which place I thinke man never sawe a better, I say only for the mannaging of the Companies affayres; for trimeing of their ships and for goods-tymber man never saw better in these parts. Madraspatam being but a dung hill to it'. He describes the famous Bay in his journal which has in it a number of coloured sketches thus: In my voyage to Bantam in the *Seaflower* we anchored ther, and in a very fine bay, all sandy ground. Wee staied there nine dayes, in which time wee brought henns limes, and such fruite as the country did affoard; three henns, for a fanan Madras (which is three pence) one hundred weight limes for a fanan and large dryed fish very plentifull and very cheape. Very good hunting of large staggs, wild hoggs, and very good fouling; peacocks, duck, teale, brangeese, and large hearnes are very plentifull. Our Water wee filled out of the wells which were digged by the Portugall but since there departur many stopped up. Here is a very large lake or pond of fresh water as you goe towards the black pointe where we did swim and wash ourselves,....'

MISCELLANEA

BREAK (?) IN THE GENEALOGY OF VĀKĀṬAKA PRAVARASENA II

Perhaps the most interesting inscription discovered recently is the Bāsim copperplate grant of Vindhyaśakti. It was first brought to the notice of scholars by Messrs. Deshpande and Mahajan in the session of the Indian History Congress held in Calcutta in December 1939. Their article was afterwards published in its *Proceedings*, pp. 449ff. In the meanwhile, a note was published on it by Dr. D. C. Sircar in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 182ff.; and he afterwards edited the whole record, *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 112 and ff. The grant was finally published by MM. Prof. V. V. Mirashi and D. B. Mahajan in *E.I.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 137 and ff. The importance of this inscription in my humble opinion consists in the fact that it throws light upon the earlier part of the genealogy set forth in the plates of Pravarasēna II and his successors. Long ago in my *List of Inscriptions*, Nos. 1704-05, I pointed out that the wording of the record clearly shows that Gautamīputra was son's son to Pravarasēna I and father of Rudrasēna I. Unfortunately Bühler and Fleet took the phrase *sūnōs sūnōr* as standing in apposition to Rudrasēna instead of to Gautamīputra though Gautamīputra stands in between and syntax requires that *sūnōs sūnōr* should be taken as referring to Gautamīputra. The only scholar who has felt the qualms of the grammarian's conscience is Prof. Mirashi. Although he has followed the translation of Fleet, he is compelled to make the following remarks: 'This is how all previous editors and historians have taken these expressions. The construction in that case seems to be faulty; for *Gautamīputrasya* should have been placed after *Pravarasēṇasya sūnōḥ* and the word *putrasya* following *Gautamīputrasya* should have been dropped. Again the epithet *atyanta-svāmi-mahābhairava-bhaktasya* should have followed *dauhitrasya*. (See the position of *atyantamāhēśvarasya* below). As the expressions stand, they seem to qualify *Gautamīputrasya*' (*E.I.*, Vol. XXII, p. 175, n. 1). This is just as it should be, and accords entirely with my view expressed in *List of Inscriptions* (p. 404, n. 4), though it was perhaps unknown to him but noticed by Dr. Sircar (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. XVI, p. 185). But why has Prof. Mirashi slurred over the faulty construction involved in the translation given by Fleet and followed by him? His fear is that in that case we would have to regard Rudrasēna, the great-grandson, as successor to Pravarasēna, because the name of Gautamīputra, father of Rudrasēna, and grandson of Pravarasēna, is not coupled 'with the expression *Vākāṭakānāṃ-mahārājasya'* (*E.I.*, Vol. XXII, p. 175, n. 1). But why regard the great-grandson Rudrasēna as successor to Pravarasēna? Why not rather think that the direct line of descent from Pravarasēna was extinct for some time till the Vākāṭaka rule was revived by Rudrasēna? That this was the case now appears from the contents of the Bāsim Plates. These speak of three rulers, Pravarasēna I, Sarvasēna and Vindhyaśakti. It is quite possible that after Vindhyaśakti, the Vākāṭaka rule became extinct and that it was revived by another line sprung from Rudrasēna. Rudrasēna, we have seen, was great-grandson to Pravarasēna, that is to say, there were two generations between the two. Similarly, the Bāsim Plates speak of two generations after Pravarasēna, namely, those represented by Sarvasēna and Vindhyaśakti. The question that now arises is: How did Rudrasēna revive the Vākāṭaka power or rather how was it revived in his time? This question is perhaps not difficult to answer. We know that Rudrasēna's grandson was Rudrasēna II, the son-in-law of the Gupta sovereign, Chandragupta II. Rudrasēna II's father was Pṛthivīsēna who must therefore be taken to be a contemporary of Chandragupta. Their fathers consequently must similarly be taken to be contemporaries, that is to say, the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasēna I and the Gupta King Samudragupta. Now in line 23 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription Samudragupta is described as *anēka-bhrashṭarājy-ōtsanna-rājavaṃśa-pratishṭhāpan-ōdbhūta-nikhila-bhuvana-vicharaṇa-śrānta-yaśasas*, '(whose) fame has laboured with journey over the whole world caused by the restoration of many fallen kingdoms and overthrown royal families'. It does not seem at all unreasonable to hold that after Vindhyaśakti the Vākāṭaka rule was overthrown and that it was re-established by Rudrasēna of another branch being raised to power by Samudragupta to maintain firm political alliance in South India—an alliance which was cemented by Rudrasēna's grandson Rudrasēna II marrying the granddaughter of Samudragupta, namely, Prabhāvatī-Guptā, daughter of Chandragupta II.

Many further questions arise in regard to the contents of the Bāsim Plates. The first is: How did Prākrit continue to be the official language of copperplate charters up-till the time of Vindhyaśakti, and how was it replaced by Sanskrit within three generations thereafter? Secondly, who is the Vindhyaśakti of the Vākāṭaka Inscription in Cave No. XVI at Ajantā? Is he Vindhyaśakti who was the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty according to the Purāṇas? Or is he Vindhyaśakti of the Bāsim Plates? Thirdly, what can be the age of this Ajantā Inscription, the facsimile of which faces page 143 of the *E.I.*, Vol. XXVI? Let renowned palæographists like Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Dr. Chhabra, Prof. Mirashi and Dr. Sircar settle it in the interest of the ancient history of India.

D. R. B.

CHARACTER OF SAMUDRAGUPTA FROM HIS INSCRIPTIONS AND COINS

Glimpses of the many-sided genius and character of Samudragupta are given both by his Inscriptions and his coins. It may be useful to put them together.

Ruler: As a ruler he was known for his vigorous and resolute government aptly described as *Prachaṇḍa-śāsana* in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription.

Conqueror: As a conqueror, he was not moved by a lust for conquest or annexation for its own sake. He was at once a *Dig-vijayī* and a *Dharma-vijayī* in accordance with circumstances. He could not tolerate the independence of the neighbouring States, the many petty kingdoms which threatened the unity and peace of the country, his first concern and consideration. He consecrated his military power to the supreme mission of unifying the country (*bāhuvīrya-prasara-dharāṇībandhasya*). Therefore, the petty States of Āryāvarta were annexed by him. But he had a different policy in respect of other States, which were not such sources of trouble, the States on the frontiers of his dominion or situated at a distance. Some of these he conquered only to liberate on terms of peaceful neighbourliness and acknowledgment of his paramount sovereignty. He worked for an international system of brotherhood and peace replacing that of violence, war and aggression. That is why his reputation spread abroad as one who vanquished kings whom he reinstated in their kingdoms in a new order of peaceful partnership. The expression used in the inscription is very appropriate and forceful: *Anekabhrashṭarājya-utsannarājavaṁśa-pratishṭhāpana*, 'restoring many a kingdom that was destroyed (*bhrashṭa*) and dynasty that was exterminated (*utsanna*)'; recalling the earlier expression *bhrashṭarājya-pratishṭhāpaka* applied to Rudradāman I in the Girnar inscription (150 A.D.); corresponding to the poet Kālidāsa's description of the *Dharma-vijayī*: '*Gṛihīta-paratimuktasya sa dharma-vijayī nṛipaḥ*', suggesting the words of the inscription—*grahaṇa-moksha-anugraha*. It is further stated that Samudragupta restored to many (*aneka*) vanquished (*vijita*) kings not merely their liberties but also their properties (*vibhava-pratyarpaṇa*) and kept his officers (*yukta-purushas*) constantly employed (*nitya-vyāpṛita*) on this difficult work of restoration.

Warrior: All his conquests the King achieved by his personal leadership and fighting in the front line as a soldier (*saṁgrāmeshu svabhuja-vijitāḥ* . . .). He was a fearless fighter, possessed of 'the dash and drive of a tiger' (*vyāghra-parākramaḥ*), the hero of a hundred battles (*samaraśata*) which left on his body their scars (*vraṇa*) as marks of decoration (*śobhā*) and beauty (*kānti*), scars of various kinds caused by different weapons of war (*praharaṇa*), such as *paraśu* (battle-axe), *śara* (arrow), *śaṅku* (spear), *śakti* (spike), *prāsa* (barbed dart), *asi* (sword), *tomara* (iron club), *bhindipāla* (javelin for throwing arrows of iron), *nārācha* (iron arrow), and *vaitastika* (scimitar). The king depended, indeed, on his personal prowess as his only ally (*svabhujabala-parākramaika-bandhoḥ*). Unable to stand his might (*vīryottaptāḥ*), kings offered him submission (*śaraṇamupagatāḥ*). His might knew no bounds (*udvelodita-bāhu-vīrya*). The Eran stone inscription describes him as 'possessed of prowess which was invincible' (*aprativāryavīryaḥ*). This epithet is repeated on his Aśvamedha coins.

Philanthropist: Yet under his iron coat of mail was always beating a soft heart (*mṛiduhṛidaya*) full of compassion (*anukampā*) for those who deserved it by their humility (*avanati*) and regard for him (*bhakti*), for the lowly (*kṛipaṇa*), the poor (*dīna*), the destitute (*anātha*), and the afflicted (*ātura*), for the relief (*uddharaṇa*) of whom he constantly worried himself (*mantradīkshādi-upagata-manasaḥ*). He is a shining (*Samiddha*) example (*vigrahavān*) of philanthropy (*lokānugraha*) which showed itself in his vast charities, such as 'gifts of hundreds of thousands of cows'. These charities came out of his wealth which was lawfully acquired (*nyāyāgata* in No. 4 of Fleet) and not ill-gotten, the product of plunder.

Superman: His many actions were, indeed, those of a superman, and not of an ordinary mortal (*amanuja-sadṛiśa*), of a god among men who is beyond comprehension (*achintya-purusha*), one who is only a man (*mānusha*) by form in having to act according to the customs and conventions governing this life (*lokasamaya-kriyānu-vidhānamātramānusha*). Otherwise, he is the equal of gods: Kubera in wealth; Varuṇa in Justice; Indra by power; invincible like Antaka (Yama); a Bṛihaspati in sharp and penetrating intellect (*niśitavidagdhamatiḥ*); the hope (*udaya*) of the good (*sādhu*) and the destruction (*pralaya*) of the wicked (*asādhu*).

Poet: Harisheṇa also extols the virtues of his chief as a man of letters, and as a poet. With a mind full of bliss (*Sukhamanaḥ*), he was fit for the company of the sages (*prajñānusaṅgo-chita*); a master of the inner meaning (*tattvaḥ*) of the Śāstras. He gathered at his court the literary masters (*budhaguṇita*) by whose judgments (*guṇājñā*) he was able to check (*āhatā*) those compositions which were against (*Viruddha*) the Spirit (*śrī*) of true poetry (*Satkāvya*). He himself composed a large volume of poetry (*bahukavitā*) which appealed to all for its clear (*sphuṭa*) meaning and brought him fame (*kīrtti*). He ruled in the realm of letters (*viddaloka*) as in that of politics, enjoying another kingdom of fame (*kīrttirājya*). He revived the extinct title of *Kavirāja*, 'the prince of poets', by his many poetical works (*anekakāvyakriyābhiḥ*) which might even serve as sources of livelihood to learned men by virtue of their quality and popularity (*Vidvajjanopajīvya*).

He was also the refuge of religion (*dharmaprāchirabandhaḥ*) into the deepest truths of which his learning penetrated (*vaidyushyaṁ tattvabhedi*).

The *Mañju-śrī-mūlakalpa* characterizes Samudragupta as 'a superman, ever vigilant, mindful about himself, unmindful about the hereafter'.

In conclusion, we may bring together the many epithets applied to him in inscriptions and on coins, which aptly point to the many sides of his complex character and personality. Some of these have been already noticed. The epigraphic epithets are: Ārya, Amanuja, Achintya-purusha, Sukhamanaḥ, Sucharita, Kavirāja, Pṛithivyāṁ apratirathaḥ, and Parākramāṅka. The numismatic appellations some of which are suggested by the inscription are: Apratiratha, Kṛitāntā-paraśu, Sarvarājochchhettā, Vyāghra-parākrama, Aprativārya-vīrya, Parākramāṅka, Samaraśatvitatavijaya-Jitāripura, Ajita, Ajitarājajetajita ('the unconquered conqueror of unconquered kings'), Rājā, Rājādhirāja, and Mahārājādhirāja-śrī.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI.

TRANSFER OF LANDED PROPERTY IN ANCIENT BENGAL

The subject under discussion excludes all considerations of landed property given to legal heirs by natural right or by way of adoption. It only aims to show from the meagre details furnished by some of the inscriptions of Bengal as to how land was generally transferred by the State to private persons for the purpose of charity either by way of sale or as the result of a free gift during the Gupta and post-Gupta age in Bengal.

The procedure of selling land and the way in which it was made over as an endowment seem to be as follows. The Dāmodarpur, the Dhanāidaha, the Faridpur or Ghāgrāhāṭi, the Pāhārpur, the Baigram, the Kalaikuri copperplate grants and other inscriptions of this nature record similar transaction. A person desirous of purchasing land with the object of making gift of the same would intimate his intention to the local government of the district or vishaya in which the land was situated and the government concerned would on receipt of such information refer the matter to the record-keepers or pustapālas for enquiry and report in the first instance and finally act on their recommendation. In the Pāhārpur copperplate grant dated in the year 159 (which is referred to the Gupta era and is supposed to correspond to 478-79 A.D.) we find a developed or somewhat perfect form of a land transaction of this nature.[1] Thus Nātha-śarmmā, a Brāhmaṇa and Rāmī, his wife, approach the District Officer (āyuktaka) and the City Council headed by the Mayor (nagara-śreṣṭhî) at Puṇḍravardhana with the request that in accordance with the procedure prevalent in the locality, they may be allowed to deposit three dināras in return for one and a half kulyavāpas of land distributed among four different villages to be endowed in perpetuity for the maintenance of requisites of the worship of Arhats such as sandal, incense, flower, lamps, etc., and for the construction of a resting-place at the Vihāra of the Jaina preceptor Guhanandî at Vaṭa-Gōhāli. The Officer and the City Council (adhiṣṭhânâdhikaraṇa) referred the matter, in the first instance, to the committee of record-keepers consisting of one chief record-keeper named Divākaranandin and other record-keepers.

The Faridpur and the Dāmodar grants mention more than one but less than five record-keepers. The Faridpur grant No. 1 alone mentions only one record-keeper. The board of record-keepers, as we find in the Pāhārpur record, after making necessary enquiries submitted their report with recommendation in favour of the transaction pointing out that there was no objection inasmuch as it would bring some revenue to the treasury by the sale of the land asked for and also entitle His Majesty to a sixth share of the religious merit accruing from the endowment. The Council, therefore, decided to accept the offer of the Brāhmaṇa couple; realized the necessary amount from the applicants and recorded the transfer of land. The village elders (grāmikas and mahattaras) and other householders of the respective villages at which the lands in question were situated, were then asked by the Council to mark out the boundaries of the lands thus granted and maintain them in perpetuity.

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[1] Vide *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, pp. 63-64.

The Kalaikuri copperplate (found in the district of Bogra and kept in the Varendra Research Museum) inscription of the year 121 (commonly referred to the Gupta era and assumed to correspond to 440-41 A.D.) records the purchase of 9 kulyavāpas of land at the rate of 2 dināras for each kulyavāpa, distributed in the villages of Hastiśîrsha, Vibhîtaka, Gubhyagandhikā and Dhānyapāṭalikā, for being granted, free of revenue, under the terms of perpetual endowment, to the Brāhmaṇas Devabhaṭṭa, Amaradatta and Mahāsenadatta, for the purpose of enabling them to perform their five daily sacrifices.[1]

It may be noted in this connection, as Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit observes, that the land measure adopted in the Pāhārpur, Dāmodarpur and such other grants was based on the measures of grain. The kulyavāpa denoted as much land as could be sown with a kulya measure of grain. A kulya, according to various ancient authorities, was equivalent to 8 drōṇas or 32 āḍhakas or 128 prasthas. It is not uncommon, therefore, to find drōṇavāpa and āḍhavāpa used as measures of land in similar grants.[2] In the Pāhārpur inscription 12 drōṇavāpas are totalized as equivalent to one and a half kulyavāpa of land which proves that one kulyavāpa is equal to 8 drōṇavāpas of land.

The Baigram (in the district of Bogra) copperplate inscription[3] of the year 128 (usually referred to the Gupta era and as such thought to correspond to 447-48 A.D.) is like the Faridpur copperplate grants marked A, B and C by Pargiter, also a deed of sale and registers the purchase by private persons of khila (fallow) and vāstu (homestead) land belonging to the State for the purpose of donation to a temple. It records the purchase of 3 kulyavāpas of revenue-free khila (fallow) fields and 2 drōṇas of sthatavāstu (homestead) land belonging to the State and lying in two localities connected with Vāyigrama, viz. Trivṛitā and Śrīgōhālī, by two persons named Bhōyila and Bhāskara, for the purpose of making a donation, to meet the expenses of flowers, perfumes, etc. required for daily worship and occasional repairs of the temple of Govindasvāmin which was founded by their father Śivanandin. The application was granted and the land was sold at the rate of 2 dināras for each kulyavāpa of shrubless fallow fields which did not yield any revenue to the State. The lands in question were purchased

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[1] B. C. Sen, Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, p. xii.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, pp. 59ff.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 78–83.

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and given in accordance with the principle of perpetual endowment (akshaya-nîvî), to be enjoyed for all time to come as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure.[1]

The name dināra, which occurs in these inscriptions, is of foreign origin and is derived, as is commonly known, from the Latin denarius. The Baigram copperplate inscription, as R. G. Basak shows, gives us a clue for determining the relation in value between a rūpaka coin and a dināra. Since 2 drōṇavāpas of land are priced at 8 rūpakas[2] and the prevailing rate of land in the vishaya or district concerned is stated to be 2 dināras for each kulyavāpa, we may well infer that one dināra was equivalent to 16 rūpakas. According to R. G. Basak, the reference here is to the silver variety of the rūpaka coin. In Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra the word 'rūpa' is used to denote both silver and copper coins, viz. rūpya-rūpa (i.e. silver coins like paṇas) and tāmra-rūpa (i.e. copper coins like māshas).[3]

Another interesting point to be noted in this connection is that in the matter of such purchase or sale of land there was no uniform or standard rate of land followed in all the districts of Bengal. As to the price of khila and vāstu land we find various rates in different inscriptions. Thus in some of the Dāmodarpur grants the rate is given as 3 dināras for each kulyavāpa (tri-dinārikya-kulyavāpa). In the Pāhārpur, Baigram and Kalaikuri grants the prevailing rate is said to be 2 dināras for a kulyavāpa (dvidinārikya-kulyavāpa); whereas in almost all the Faridpur plates the rate is that of 4 dināras for a kulyavāpa (caturdinārikya-kulyavāpa). The reason for this divergence of rate may be assumed to be due to one of the two causes. Either it might have been due to the different rates prevailing in different localities or the quality and nature of the land sold might have caused this difference in value.

Lands granted by donors in accordance with the principle of nîvîdharma would, as a rule, be regarded as non-transferable, that is to say, the donee had all the right given to him by the donor except perhaps the right of making further transfer of the property in future. The Dhanāidhaha copperplate (found in the Natore Sub-Division of the Rajshahi District) inscription[4] of the year 113 (supposed to be dated in Gupta era corresponding to 432-33 A.D.) shows that a person approached the village householders, the mahattaras and the ashṭakulādhikaraṇas and expressed to them his desire to purchase one kulyavāpa of cultivated land by paying the price at the usual rate prevailing in the vishaya or district of Khādā[ṭa]pāra. It appears that the applicant wanted to buy the land by destroying the nîvîdharma (non-transferability of it), that is, with the right of alienation. His prayer was granted and the purchased land was severed for him by proper measurement. He in turn appears to have made a donation of the same to a Sāmavedin Brāhmaṇa (Chhāndoga, line 12) of the name of Varāhasvāmin. As is evident from the later Pāla inscriptions in which the cultivators of the soil (kshetrakarān) and all other persons enjoying a property given as a form of endowment for a religious purpose, who are asked to pay all kinds of legitimate dues in future, we may well infer that private or public trusts for such religious purposes were carried on by means of the interest and income that accrued from the endowed land, which must remain beyond the scope of further transfer in future.

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[1] Cf. ācandrārka sthitikāla of Pāla inscriptions.

[2] Cf. lines 6 and 14 of the inscription.

[3] Cf. Shama Shāstrī's translation of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, p. 95.

[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 345ff.

From the evidence of the Dāmodarpur and the Ghāghrāhāṭi copperplate grants we find that waste lands were often reclaimed by such transfer. In the Ghāghrāhāṭi grant[1] we find a Brāhmaṇa named Supratîkasvāmin praying for a piece of waste land for his own settlement so that he might be able to engage himself in offering the bali, the charu and sacrifices. His prayer was accordingly granted. From this Pargiter concludes that by means of such free gifts of land Brāhmaṇas were probably tempted to settle in regions where Brahmanic settlement was hitherto unknown. R. D. Banerjee thinks this document to be spurious because it is unlike other land grants in many respects. But Pargiter points out that it was no case of purchase of land, on the contrary a free gift by the vyavahārins on condition that the Brāhmaṇa should perform his religious rites or priestly function. In Dāmodarpur copperplate grant No. 2, of the time of Kumāragupta I, dated in the year 129 (which is referred to the Gupta era and assumed to correspond to 448-49 A.D.),[2] a person is said to have approached the local government of Kōṭivarsha vishaya administered by Kumārāmātya Vetravarman appointed by Uparika Chirātadatta, the head of the Puṇḍravardhana bhukti and prayed for the grant of a plot of waste land, to be transferred to him on receipt from him of the price at the prevailing rate of 3 dināras for each kulyavāpa, for the maintenance of his Pañcha-mahāyajñas. His prayer was granted and the land was given according to the determination of the record-keepers. A Gurjara inscription, dated 736 A.D., refers to bali, charu, vaiśvadeva, agnihotra and atithi as the Pañcha-mahāyajñas.[3]

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[1] Pargiter in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VII (N.S.), p. 486.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 114.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 152 and 155.

In Dāmodarpur grant No. 3, we find reference to local bodies, probably rural such as grāmikas, mahattaras, ashṭakulādhikaraṇas, whom the government of those days seem to have consulted in arranging land-transfer and in inspecting (pratyavekshya) the execution of the transaction. Transactions of this nature in the shape of free donations to temples and charitable institutions are found in some of the inscriptions of the early Chola rulers in the south.[1] In the Tippera copperplate grant of Lokanātha (whose date is 650 A.D. according to R. G. Basak),[2] we find reference to settlements of Brāhmaṇas even in the easternmost regions of Bengal; full of dense forest where tigers and wild animals freely roamed. It is apparent, therefore, that not only waste lands but forest regions as well were made habitable by means of such gifts or transfer of land to Brāhmaṇas and ascetics (śramaṇas), temples and religious institutions like monastic establishments. The Nidhanpur copperplate inscription well illustrates the point in question. It refers to settlement in Sylhet of two hundred and five Brāhmaṇas belonging to various gōtras and such Vedic śākhās as Vājasaneyî, Chārakya and Taittiriya of the Yajurveda, Chhāndoga of the Sāmaveda and Vāhvṛichya of the Ṛgveda.[3]

Three classes of donor are generally met with in land grants. Either the land is given by a royal personage, namely, some king or a prince of the royal blood, an important dignitary of the State, a vassal chief or a nobleman of the royal court, or it is the gift of some private person or a villager. The ostensible object in all such land grants is the enhancement of the fame and religious merit of the donor and his parents.[4] Considering the fact that such acts of charity with a religious motive or with a view to social or public welfare was deemed to be a commendable thing because it would bring in its train not merely religious merit but public applause, that is, fame and renown for the donor and his parents, we may well infer that at the back of such endowments there was probably the desire to encourage others to follow such examples of charity. In this sense, we may well treat these land grants as being utilitarian, that is to say, as being prompted by a motive to move the public mind towards some noble object.

In all cases we have two varieties of land transfer. Either the land is purchased from the State by an individual, a couple or more than one individual and then made over as gift or it is the result of a free gift of the State, that is, of the king or some such person. The Tippera copperplate grant is an instance of the last kind. King Lokanātha issued this document through his sāndhivigrahika, Praśāntadeva, and it records a grant of land to his own Brāhmaṇa mahāsāmanta, Pradōshaśarman, who made an application to his chief through the king's son, Prince Lakshmīnātha, as dūtaka [1, 17], granting him a plot of land in the forest region (aṭavī-bhūkhaṇḍa) in the vishaya of Suvvuṅga. In this granted piece of land the mahāsāmanta desired to erect a temple, wherein he wished to found an image of Ananta-Nārāyaṇa [1, 22]. Pradōshaśarman prayed for land for the maintenance of the daily worship of this god with bali, charu, sattra, etc. and for the dwelling of the Brāhmaṇas versed in the four Vedas (Chāturvidya, line 24), whose number exceeds a hundred. The amount of land, allotted individually and sometimes jointly, is also clearly given in the document. Reference to erection of such temples by royal personage is commonly met with in contemporary and later inscriptions. Thus in the Bāngarh or Dinajpur pillar inscription,[1] we find reference to the erection of a temple of Śiva by a Lord of Gauḍa (Gauḍapati), belonging to the Kāmboja family. The Khālimpur copperplate inscription of King Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal[2] records the gift of land by Mahāsāmantādhipati Nārāyaṇavarmā (line 49) for the use of the image of 'Bhagavannanna Nārāyaṇa' in the temple at Śubhasthalī erected by him and also for the benefit of the Brāhmin care-takers of the Lāṭa country who used to serve the said deity and such other worshippers engaged in the service of the temple. For the continuance of the usual worship and upkeep of the said deity, the donor prayed to the Government for a grant of four villages in order to enhance the religious merit of himself and his parents. His prayer was granted and with their boundaries clearly defined the four villages were given which were situated in the Mahantāprakāśa vishaya included in the Vyāghrataṭī maṇḍala lying in the Puṇḍravardhana bhukti (lines 30-31) and in the Sthālīkkaṭa vishaya of the Āmrashaṇḍikā maṇḍala (lines 41-42). The Monghyr copperplate inscription of King Devapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal[3] records the gift by Devapāla himself of the village of Meshikā in the vishaya of Krimila lying in Śrīnagarabhukti (line 30) to a Brāhmin named Vihēkarāta Miśra, son of Varāharāta and grandson of Viśvarāta, a Brahmachārī of the Āślâyana branch of the Aupamanyava gōtra (lines 42-43). The

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[1] Pandit H. Krishna Shastri's paper on Fiscal Administration under Early Cholas, pp. 223–30 in the *Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, Poona, 1917.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 301ff.

[3] *History of Bengal* (published by the Dacca University), Vol. I, pp. 395ff.

[4] Cf. ātmanaḥ mātāpitrō puṇyayaśobhivṛddhayē.

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[1] R. P. Chanda in *J.A.S.B.* (N.S.), Vol. VII, pp. 615ff.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, pp. 246ff.

[3] Kielhorn in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 253–57.

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Bhagalpur copperplate inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal[1] records similarly the grant by King Nārāyaṇapāla, son of Vigrahapāla, of the village of Makutikā in the vishaya of Kaksha (line 30) lying in Tīrabhukti (line 29), for the benefit of the image of Śiva enshrined at Kalasapōta and for the use of its votaries, the congregation of pāśupata priests (pāśupatāchāryya-parishad, line 39). Similar grants of land may be found mentioned in later inscriptions of the time of the Varman and Sena kings of Bengal. Thus the Belâva copperplate of Bhojavarman[2] refers to grant of land in the province of Puṇḍravardhana to Brāhmins hailing from Uttara-Rāḍha, who were attached to the studies of the Vedas.

An interesting point to be noted in the matter of such transaction of land is that the rulers of those days while making gifts of land would take every possible care, whether legal or moral, for the future preservation of their donated land. That is why we find imprecatory verses, often at the end of such inscriptions, urging posterity in general to see to the upkeep of such deeds of gift and thus earn religious merit, for an act of violation in any shape or infringement on such lands meant a grave sin. We may well conclude that all such grants of land by the State had behind them the consent and sanction, whether tacit or express, of the community at large.

T. N. CHAKRABARTY.

KṚTA

Here I may draw the attention of the scholars to a small paper on *The Kṛta Era* by Mr. Dhirendra Nath Mookerjee and published in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, pp. 229–34. In the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. LXI, pp. 101–03) more than twelve years ago Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar dealt with this subject and tried to show that *Kṛta* denoted the *Kṛta Yuga*, i.e. Kṛta Era, that according to some Purāṇas it was founded by Kalkī, the last incarnation of Viṣṇu, who was not to come but had already come and disappeared from the world and that *Kṛta* denoted not only the Kṛta Era but also the years of that era. Mr. Mookerjee has given quotations from the *Kalki-Purāṇa* and the *Jyōtirvidābharaṇa* of *Kālidāsa* to show that Kalkī was one of the era-founders. He has also referred to the view propounded by Prof. A. S. Altekar while editing the *Maukhari Inscriptions* dated according to Kṛta Era. His criticism is not unworthy of consideration by the scholars interested in the subject. I therefore quote it here as follows:—

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[1] *G.L.*, pp. 55–59; Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 304.
[2] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, 19.

> 'While editing the "Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Yūpas: Kṛta year 295" in the *Ep. Indica*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42–52, Prof. A. S. ALTEKAR of the Benares Hindu University while quoting Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR's opinion that the time has not yet come for suggesting a definite interpretation of the term "Kṛta", puts forth, however, a tentative theory and suggests that "the era may originally have been started by a king named Kṛta who probably scored a memorable victory and won great booty (Kṛta)". In view of the overwhelming nature of evidence already stated it is clear that Kṛta was Kṛta because it was the Kṛtayuga started by King Kalkī. It is again strange that Kṛta should be taken as the name of a king, because in all inscriptions Kṛta is in apposition to "Vatsara or Varṣa" which means "a year". Now when we have such an expression as "Kṛtesu caturṣu varṣaśatesu, etc." in the Nagari inscription of year 481, how can Kṛta mean here a king called "Kṛta"? What is meant by "481 years" which are Kṛta kings as this expression has to be so translated if Prof. ALTEKAR's theory is upheld? Prof. ALTEKAR cites the Sunak plate of Karṇadeva and the Bhadresvar plate of Chālukya Jayasimhadeva dated in year 1148 and 1195 where the expression "Vikramsamvat" occurs and also shows that "Valabhisamvat" occurs in some places. But these can very well be compound words. If Prof. ALTEKAR could have cited an example like "Vaikrama" Samvatsara, then his case might have been stronger. Kṛta must, therefore, be taken in the sense of "the years of Kṛtayuga" ushered in by Kalkī.'

Here at least we agree in every one of the words fallen from the pen of Mr. Mookerjee. We may further point out that it is somewhat strange how Dr. Bhandarkar's note: *The Years called Kṛta or the Origin of the Vikrama Era* printed in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1932, was not known to Prof. Altekar, although his paper appeared in the *Epigraphia Indica* of 1935-36. It is exceedingly desirable that this question should be discussed *in extenso* as the Vikrama Bi-Millennium Celebrations are soon coming off.

S. C. SIRCAR.

REVIEWS

WAYFARER'S WORDS, by Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A., President of the Pali Text Society, 3 volumes, Luzac & Co., London, 1940–42.

This is the last work of Mrs. Rhys Davids in three volumes which contains some of her sporadic writings: articles and comments buried in periodicals and commemorative volumes on a variety of subjects, philosophical, religious and literary. The major portion of this book was printed during her lifetime except a few pages and the index which passed through the competent hand of her able colleague, Miss I. B. Horner, M.A. Mrs. Rhys Davids was one of the ablest exponents of early Buddhism. She was an out and out litterateur and did not take part in politics. She had a true humility of a great scholar and never cared for any publicity for herself. She had unrivalled knowledge of early Buddhism and was ever ready to help ardent students of Buddhism with her valuable suggestions.

The first volume deals with the following topics: A working bond of fellowship; man, a wayfarer through worlds; the man in early Buddhism; the self: an overlooked Buddhist simile; an overlooked Pāli Sutta; except the man himself; you and your mind; clothes and the man; man and his becoming; original Buddhism as a philosophy of life; reality of religious experience in Buddhism; wanted: worth in will; man as willer; the will in Buddhism; a dynamic conception of man; the Buddhist way in the worlds; Buddhism and the unseen; the meaning of *Jhāna*; rebirth in the Pali scriptures; the art of living; the supreme spiritual ideas; tamed: freed; the well; let the well win; Buddhism and the essentials of religion; Buddhism was not originally a negative gospel; was original Buddhism atheistic?; silence and emphasis in Buddhism; original Buddhism and the immortal, the will and the way. The second volume treats of the following: Buddhism and Christianity; a changing ideal; the two ends and the middle way; wherein I differ, when ye pray; is Buddhism a religion?; man and deity in original Buddhism; which will ye?, how does man persist?; what Buddhism means; Buddha, the light of Asia; how he taught man the way; the wording and the man; the so-called eight-fold path; things he will not have taught; self-dependence and original Buddhism; a technical term in early Buddhism; Buddhist wheel and way: the evolution of a Symbol; a Buddhist Rubicon; *hita* or welfare; amity, the relation between early Buddhism and Brahmanism; a vanished Sakyan window; reefs of the submerged Sakyan teaching; an historical aspect of *Nirvāṇa*; *Nirvāṇa* in the negative; towards the history of the Skandha doctrine; the Pali *Tīpitaka*; a milestone in Pali Text Society work; and curious omissions in Pali Canonical lists. The third and the last volume has the following as contents: Man's responsibility in the creeds; Vardhamāna Mahāvira, founder of Jainism; the man and the way; a greeting to Jains; the child of promise; are there Jain values in Buddhism?; Sāṅkhya logic; god-wayfaring, a sequel; man and the creeds; Asoka, heir of the way; birth-stories and the long quest; Buddhist parables and similes; sage and king; Sākyamuni and Rāmakrishna; what Buddha said?; about going and the goal; an apologist in Buddhism; Ceylon and the Pali Text Society; India and the Pali Text Society; wording, old and new; old words and new will; worthy names and the nameworthy; Yoga and the fellowman; reincarnation; a word from outside the creeds; enemy action; man and invisible helpers; does religion unite or separate?; basis, and ideal in our outlook; the more in man; tribunals and man's opportunities; George Croom Robertson as teacher; and last wayfarer's words.

At the end of this volume there is an appendix which contains her comments on the following topics: Why India is poor in history; survival in Buddhism; the

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inner sentinel rôle of religion in a changing world; the Milinda questions and the man; Mahayana Buddhism; Buddha and not Buddhists; translators; Sāṅkhya and original Buddhism; animal rebirth; a basic conception of Buddhism; Vedantic leaven; piercing the veil; Dr. Schweitzer and Indian thought; horizons of immortality, uniformity in world religion; *Nirvāṇa*; 'Le Dogme et la Philosophie du Bouddhisme'; faith in Buddhism; missing the essential; Buddhism in England; my life; brief notes on H.J.A.S., 4; and eastern religion and western thought.

Some of the chapters are quite good and useful although we may not agree with some of her views. The book under review bears an ample testimony to her sound knowledge, vast experience and critical acumen. It is undoubtedly a valuable addition to our existing list of well-known books on Buddhism. A serious student interested in Buddhistic thought will be greatly benefited by a careful study of this learned and thought-provoking treatise. Her death is no doubt a serious loss to Buddhistic studies.

B. C. LAW.

TRIBES IN ANCIENT INDIA, by Bimala Churn Law. Bhandarkar Oriental Series, No. 4. Poona, 1943.

Once again Dr. B. C. Law has earned the gratitude of indologists by a scholarly and handy work on an important and recondite branch of ancient Indian history and culture. That he has been studying the history of tribes in ancient India is well known to scholars who have been following his publications from time to time. In the seventy-five chapters of the volume before us he has drawn together the results of his extensive researches on this interesting subject; the result is an excellent book replete with accurate and well-arranged information on a great number of tribal organizations of ancient and mediaeval times. The Epics, the Purāṇas, the Bauddha and Jaina works have been laid under contribution, and the inscriptions have by no means been neglected, though it must be said that they do not seem to have been explored as thoroughly as they might have been. A work of this nature, however thorough one might seek to make it from the first, can seldom attain such comprehensiveness as to preclude all need for further revision, correction and addition. This is the first comprehensive and systematic attempt to deal with the whole subject, though Dr. Law states modestly that the object of the volume is to present an account of some tribes who, in different parts of the country, played an important part in the early history of India. The book will be constantly needed for reference and one hopes that it will run into several editions, each surpassing its predecessor in its excellences. The book has been printed exceedingly well and bears no trace of the war-time difficulties that have worked havoc on many other publications.

K. A. NILKANTA SASTRI.

GLORIES OF MARWAR AND THE GLORIOUS RATHORS, by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Sahityacharya, Superintendent, Archaeological Department and Sumer Public Library, Jodhpur. Published under orders of the Jodhpur Darbar.

The Government of Jodhpur in general and its Archaeological Department in particular is to be congratulated upon publishing 'Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rathors', written by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, the Superintendent of the Archaeological Department and Sumer Public Library, Jodhpur. Apart from the history of a premier State in Rajputana it contains many learned articles written by the Mahamahopadhyaya and read by him at various conferences connected with Indian history.

This work in itself is a proof of the author's vast knowledge of history and of the labour, assiduity and success with which he has carried out his researches. The articles of the appendices, mostly based on the original and authentic sources, not only throw new light on the obscure events of the Indian history but also refute the false statements of the old and new scholars of the Indian history. For instance, the article numbered 4 of Appendix A, articles 1, 5, 6 and 10 of Appendix B challenge the fabulous versions of the past historians; while the articles 2, 20 and a number of others refute the apparently falsifying statements of Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Gaurishankar Ojha in his *Rājputānā-kā-Itihās* which are likely to mislead scholars. Students of history will be exceedingly obliged if he gives a reply to Mahamahopadhyaya Reu. This will clearly show that the histories of the other States written by Dr. Ojha were not 'made to order', and will completely set all suspicions at rest.

We may also add that the scholarly articles published in appendices will also help other scholars a great deal in writing the history of North, as well as South, India.

D. R. B.

OBITUARY NOTICES

E. H. JOHNSTON

Professor Johnston was born in 1885. He was educated at Eton and Oxford. After passing the I.C.S. Examination, he was appointed as an Assistant Magistrate of Midnapore. Later he became the Under-Secretary in the Home Department of the Government of India and then he became Magistrate and Collector of Monghyr. He acted up to his death as the Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford. He was a learned man and a regular contributor of thoughtful articles to the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. He edited and translated into English the *Buddhacarita-Kāvya* and *Saundarananda-Kāvya* of Aśvaghoṣa. His *Notes on Some Pali Words* published in the *J.R.A.S.* got him the degree of D.Litt. He was engaged in editing the *Uttara-tantra,* a difficult text of the northern Buddhists. He was ever ready to render every assistance to research students. But his career was cut short at an early age in 1942. May his soul rest in peace!

B. C. LAW.

THEODOR STCHERBATSKY

T. Stcherbatsky was born in 1866 in Poland. He studied Sanskrit at Vienna with Bühler. He was an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and a Corresponding Member of the St. Petersburg Academy. He wrote some important books, e.g. (1) *Buddhist Logic* in two vols., (2) Edition of the *Nyāya-bindu* and its commentaries, (3) Edition of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra,* (4) *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa,* and (5) *The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word Dharma.* His expositions of *Nirvāṇa* and *Dharma* are very clear and suggestive. He was a sound Oriental scholar and it is difficult to fill up the void created by his death in Leningrad during the seize-winter of 1941-42.

B. C. LAW.

SIR AUREL STEIN

Sir Aurel Stein died on the 26th October, 1943, at Kabul. He was the celebrated explorer of Eastern Turkestan. He was engaged in completing his exploration of the Kohistan, east of the Indus. In August last year, he made two journeys, one to complete his survey of the Hakra (the 'lost Sarasvatī river') and a second from the Arabian coast up the hill ranges to the north-east extremity of Makran. He also visited Hinglaj which is an ancient site of pilgrimage in the Las Bela State, Baluchistan. He was very active and energetic up to the last day of his life, especially in his 81st year which was so eventful and fruitful.

B. C. LAW.

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA S. KUPPUSWAMI ŚĀSTRĪ

We have to regret very much the death of MM. S. Kuppuśwami Śāstrī. He was a great Sanskrit scholar of Madras, born in 1880 at Ganapati Agraharam on the banks of the Kāverī in the Tanjore District. He was well posted in Sanskrit before he graduated in arts in 1900 from the S.P.G. College, Tanjore. He got his M.A. degree in 1905. In 1906 he was appointed Principal of the Madras Sanskrit College and remained in that post till 1910. From 1910 to 1914 he was appointed Principal of the newly remodelled Raja's College of Sanskrit and Tamil Studies at Trivadi (Tanjore). Then he became the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, Madras, and the Curator of the Madras Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library. He was a member of the Indian Educational Service and retired in 1935. Then for a few years he was appointed as the Hony. Professor of Sanskrit in the Annamalai University.

The title of Vidyāvācaspati was conferred on him by the Bhārata Dharma Mahāmaṇḍala, Benares, and subsequently he received the Govt. title of Mahāmahopādhyāya. He was fortunate enough to receive some more titles of Darśana-Kalānidhi and Kulapati.

He was a member of the Senate, Academic Council and President of the Board of Examiners in the University of Madras. He was also a member of the Tamil Lexicon Committee of the same University.

He was well known for his Mīmāṃsā scholarship and it was he who built up a South Indian school of research. He had a thorough knowledge as to the collection of valuable manuscripts. He was the founder of the Sanskrit Academy, Madras, and the editor of the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.

As an Hony. Reader of the University of Madras, he delivered a number of interesting lectures on the six systems of philosophy, Alaṁkāraśāstra, etc.

As a scholar he looked more to the quality than to the quantity. He wrote a large number of books, some of which may be mentioned here: *Descriptive Catalogues of the Madras Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library* numbering 66, *Vibhramaviveka, Dhvanyāloka, A Primer of Indian Logic, Padyacūḍāmaṇi* and *Brahmasiddhi* with Saṅkhapāṇi's commentary, memorial edition of Śaṅkara's works (Vāṇi Vilās Press), and *Adhvaramīmāṃsā Rutūhalavṛtti.*

He wrote several valuable papers on the Prabhākara school, Ācāryasundara-pāṇḍya, Maṇimekhalai, Rāvaṇa-bhāṣya, etc. He also dealt with such interesting topics as High-ways and By-ways of Literary Criticism, Compromises in the History of Vedānta, etc.

He was the President of the All-India Oriental Conference and the Indian Philosophy Congress.

The late Mahāmahopādhyāya was a profound scholar who had a perfect critical acumen like a veteren European scholar. He was a great guide to research students, an exemplary teacher and a devoted worker. He had a large number of students in Madras and outside it. His death is a great loss to the world of scholarship, especially to South Indian culture.

V. RAGHAVAN.

INDIAN CULTURE

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A HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTH INDIA

By V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

The history of Christianity in South India in general and in Madras in particular goes as far back as the first century A.D. Tradition has it that Saint Thomas visited South India about 50 A.D. He landed at Cranganore on the West Coast, and after a brief stay at Cochin came to the Coromandel Coast. It is believed that the Apostle preached his faith to the natives of India both on the West Coast of the Peninsula and on the Coromandel Coast, and made converts of them. Thus the earliest Christian settlements in India are to be traced in parts of what is now the city of Madras and in parts of the Malayala country.

The Syrian Church

Confining ourselves to Malabar for the moment we find the Syrian Church to be a very ancient institution, as ancient as the visit of Saint Thomas to this region. Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, who came to India towards the end of the thirteenth century, refers to the place as sacred to the Apostle, and tells us that both Christians and Saracens frequented it (the Church of St. Thomas in Malabar) in pilgrimage. The Saint was known Avarian or Holy Man among the Saracens. Several miracles are narrated in the name of the Apostle, and how even the earth on which the chapel stands brought hope and relief to the suffering and diseased humanity. We have on record a series of foreign visitors during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. About 1291 Friar John of Monte Corvino of the Order of Minor Friars, came to India and stayed in the Church of St. Thomas for 13 months. He records in a letter that he baptized about one hundred persons in that locality. In this he was assisted by Friar Nicholas of Pistoria, of the Order of Preachers, who died there and was buried in that church. From a bull of Pope John XXII, dated 5th April 1330, addressed to the Christians of Quilon and to be delivered to them by Friar Jordanus, and from the two letters of Jordanus himself (Hakluyt Society Series), it is seen that there was a settlement of Christians (called Nascarini) in that part of Malabar. Here the Pope invites the Nascarini to abjure their schism and enter the unity of the Catholic Church. Jordanus refers in his letters the scope for conversion in India. In 1348-49 John De Marignolli, a Papal Legate, visited Quilon, famous for its

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pepper. He stayed there for 14 months and was paid a hundred gold *fan* every month. He places on record that the Christians of that place owned those pepper gardens and were besides masters of the public steel yard. (Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. III.) But with the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century who began to assert dominion over their faith, confusion entered into the peaceful abodes of the Syrians. Effort was made to bring them into subjection to the Roman See. But the Syrians resisted this. 'The respect which they had for the Cross was better to them than the favour of the Virgin, and the long catalogue of Saints which adorned the Romist calendar.' But still the Jesuits continued their activities. Some of the Syrian Metropolitans were imprisoned and transported to Lisbon and Rome. Notwithstanding all the oppression, the old families of Syrian Christians continued their ancient faith. When Sir Thomas Munro visited them, he wrote to the British Government in their favour and obtained places of trust and emolument for them under the Government of Travancore. The missionaries of the Church Serenity were located among them. Ever since they have made great progress both in learning and religious feeling.

On the Coromandel Coast

Turning to the Coromandel Coast, tradition associates San Thome or old Mylapore with the burial place of the Apostle St. Thomas who is said to have suffered martyrdom at St. Thomas Mount. The Arab geographers and travellers of the ninth and tenth centuries called this place Betumah or Town or Church of Thomas. We also hear that an envoy of Alfred the Great from England visited this place about 883 A.D. Then we learn of Persian merchants who were known as Nestorian Christians and who built a chapel over the tomb of St. Thomas. Marco Polo the Venetian traveller who visited the Coromandel Coast about the end of the thirteenth century refers to the prosperity of these Nestorian Christians.

San Thome became still more famous when the Portuguese occupied it about 1522. St. Francis Xavier who visited it some time after found a primitive form of Christianity prevalent among the fishermen of the place. Him they regarded as a Patron Saint. Here was built a small church, the most ancient European building on the coast of Madras. In 1606 the Pope created a separate Bishopric for San Thome, and consequently the church became a Cathedral Church.

St. Thomas Mount is also associated with the revered name of St. Thomas. Here was discovered the famous Bleeding Cross—a Stone Cross which contains an old Pehlevi inscription, perhaps of the seventh or eighth century, and some spots resembling blood stains—in 1547 by the Portuguese. They built a church and placed the Stone Cross in the wall behind the Altar. The church was dedicated to Our Lady of Expectation. Still more interesting is a picture of the Holy Virgin and Child discovered nearby and now in the church and believed to be one of the seven portraits drawn by St. Luke and brought by St. Thomas to India.

Little Mount is another place of interest connected with St. Thomas at Saidapet (Chinnamalai). It is said that the Apostle hid himself in a cave—which is still pointed out—and afraid of his persecutors, he effected his escape to the Mount through a hole in it. But the persecutors followed him to the Mount and speared him to death. Here in 1551, the Portuguese constructed a church near a spring of fresh water which the Apostle created by hitting the stone with his staff and this is said to possess healing properties. The church is dedicated to Our Lady of Health.

The Luz Church is as ancient as the churches above mentioned, perhaps a little more ancient. It contains an inscription stating that it was built in 1516, and dedicated to Our Lady of Light (De Nossa Senhora Da Luz). The story goes that mariners who were tossed off San Thome shore saw a light. They repaired towards this guiding light, and built a church on that site.

The Tranquebar Mission

Before we examine the history of the church in Madras during the time of the East India Company and after, we can say a few words about one or two missions which played an active part in the formation of Christianity in South India.

In 1620 Tranquebar was acquired by the Danish East India Company. But long before there was a Portuguese settlement at Negapatam. About 1570 the Italian traveller, Caesar Frederick who visited Negapatam observed that the Christian religion had taken a firm footing by then and the Nayak Rajas were tolerant. By 1612 Negapatam was an active centre for the Goanese Catholic missionaries. About this time was built the church at Velanganni, six miles south of Negapatam. It continues to attract pilgrims even today for its festivals. By 1660 the Dutch seized Negapatam from the Portuguese who founded a church at Tranquebar. About 1726 a chapel was built in the suburb. Not much information is available for more than a century. About 1846 the Jesuits of Madura founded St. Joseph's College at Negapatam which became transplanted to Trichinopoly, the present much flourishing institution.

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The Danes

The first Protestant mission in India was established at Tranquebar in 1706 by two young German pastors Henirich Plutuochan (also Plutscho) and Bartholamus Ziegenbalg, who were out under the auspices of the king of Denmark. They learnt Tamil and preached to the natives in their own tongue. In 1710 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge encouraged them. A printing press from London enabled them to publish Tamil translation of the Scriptures. In August 1717 His Majesty George I wrote a letter of encouragement to the missions and lent his patronage. From Tranquebar the missionary activity spread to Cuddalore, Madras and Calcutta along the coast, and in the interior to Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Palamcottah. From 1753 missionaries frequented the capital town, Tanjore. It is said that the assistance of these Lutheran missionaries—Danish and German—was sought by the Governor and his Council at Madras for political and religious reasons. These missions also received financial assistance from the British Society for promoting Christianity. Among them was the German Schwartz who founded the mission at Trichinopoly. He joined the English missionary society S.P.C.K. in 1768. Sir Thomas Rumbold sent him on a mission of peace to Hyder Ali in 1779. He continued his missionary work as a chaplain.

In the meantime the Tranquebar mission was decaying and by 1820 it no more pursued the evangelistic activity. However, the Leipzig Lutheran Missions revived it in 1841, and from that time Tranquebar continues to be their headquarters. They have built churches in different places and established schools throughout the Presidency.

State Museum Library Lucknow
7035

The Madura Mission

A word may be said about the Madura Mission. This was founded by an Italian Jesuit, Fr. Robert de Nobili (1606). A century later Fr. Francis Laynez and Fr. Venance Bouchet of the Madura Mission went to Rome to plead the cause of their missions. These were met by Fr. Beschi. In 1710 Fr. Francis Laynez returned as Bishop of Sosopolis and Coadjutor of Mylapore. Also came Fr. Bouchet and Fr. C. J. Beschi at the same time. After a few days at Goa, Fr. Beschi was attached to the Malabar Province. In 1711 he entered the Madura Mission and after years of fruitful work died in 1747.

The early Missionaries took to the ways of living and customs of the country, especially of the Brahmans even in the mode of dress. They took even Tamil names. Through their influence the

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Catholic population steadily increased. On its model were founded the Mysore Mission in 1650 and Carnatic Mission in 1702. The Madura Mission comprised in its limits, besides Madura, what now forms the diocese of Kumbakonam, parts of diocese of Mylapore and Coimbatore and of the Archdiocese of Pondicherry. A handful of Missionaries, about ten in number, were managing this for a number of years in the first half of the eighteenth century. The Missionaries belonging to the kingdom of Tanjore were persecuted during the time of Shahji (1682–1711) and Sarboji his successor. The same fate overtook them in Trichinopoly and Ramnad in the first half of the eighteenth century. Still they managed to carry on their propaganda until they obtained a firm holding.

The Madras Church

Turning once again to the church in Madras, it is interesting to investigate the name Madras. Among the different versions regarding the origin of the name, one is that the site where Francis Day, founder of Madras, settled was originally a village of fishermen, the headman of which was a Christian named Madaresan, after whose name the new settlement came to be known. A second version is that prior to the settlement of the English merchants, there was in that place a Church of St. Mary (Madre De Deus) probably founded by the Portuguese of San Thome and that the settlement was named after St. Mary. Recently Very Rev. Mgr. Teixeira, Bishop of Mylapore, suggested on the basis of a tombstone inscription that the name Madras probably was after Madra, a Portuguese family of the village. There seems to be much force in this theory as the name Madraspatam existed before 1639 as the firman to Captain Day would demonstrate.

The Fort

In 1675 when Sir William Langhorn was at the head of the government of Fort St. George, a Roman Catholic Church, Church of St. Andrew, was built in the Fort for the use of the Portuguese and other Catholic inhabitants of the new settlement. Father Ephraim, a French Capuchin Friar was their first priest. But this church was demolished for military purposes during the time of Lally's siege. The Capuchins then erected a new church in Muthialpettah, now the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Armenian Street. In 1678 was laid the foundation of St. Mary's Church in the Fort. Till then a room in the Factory House served as a chapel for Protestants. The new church, a result of voluntary donations of the

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English merchants, was finished in 1680. St. Mary's Church can well claim to be the first building connected with the National Church of England. It contains Registers and inscriptions which throw light on the growth and history of Madras. A congregation was organized on the model of an English parish with a vestry with the Governor as President. The vestry built up a fund and managed schools till 1805. In 1715 a charity school was established and later were founded male and female orphan asylums.

During Sir Archibald Campbell's governorship (1786–89) the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell became the first Superintendent of the Male Orphan Asylum established then. He founded a school at St. Andrews known as the Madras College. The Male Orphan Asylum was a development of the charity school under the control of the vestry of St. Mary's in the Fort. Subsequently a press was attached to the school and orphans were trained there. This was the nucleus of the Madras Male Asylum Almanac, now issued as the Lawrence Asylum Press Almanac. Thanks to the efforts of Lady Campbell, and private donations, a Female Orphan Asylum was founded in 1787. After a century of useful work it was merged, in the early years of this century, with the Lawrence Asylum at Ootacamund and with the Civil Orphan Asylum at Madras.

The Armenians in Madras

The Armenians who were the first Christian nation in Asia flourished in Madras as traders in the 17th and 18th centuries. They were among the permanent settlers in Madras in 1666. The first Armenian Church at Madras was erected in 1712 in Esplanade. Both this and the Latin Church were demolished by the British authorities as being inconvenient to the Fort. So in 1772 was built the present Armenian Church in Armenian Street dedicated to Holy Virgin Mary. A generous Armenian merchant Khojah Petrus undertook in 1726 to erect 160 stone steps from the foot to the top of the hill St. Thome interspersed with resting places for the convenience of pilgrims to see the Church at the summit of the Mount. He died in Madras in 1751 and his body was interred in the Vepery Church. A son of Agah Shameer, another merchant prince who died in Madras in 1797 and buried in the Armenian Churchyard, started in 1772, the first Armenian press in India. By 1781 the Armenians grew in numbers and had to find newer settlements. One party went to Negapatam and the other to Musulipatam. At the latter place they erected a church. A few families remained in Madras but gradually dwindled in numbers and significance.

Madras in the Nineteenth century

The nineteenth century witnessed many missionary activities. There was an increase in the number of chaplains due to increase in number of English troops. A new church in the choultry plain (suburbs of Tiruvatesvarampet, Royapettah, Nungambakkam, Teynampet) was built under the supervision of De Havilland, and it was named St. George's Church (now known as St. George's Cathedral). It contains memorials of Dr. James Anderson, Surgeon and Physician General, Madras; of Bishop Heber, drowned at Trichinopoly in 1826; of the Venerable John Mousbey, the first Archdeacon of Madras; of Dr. Daniel Corrie, the first Anglican Bishop of Madras; of Bishop Caldwell and of others.

But in 1805 Madras was occupied as a station of the London Missionary Society. Mr. Loveless, the first Agent, was a pious and simple man. In 1810 a chapel was built for the mission in Black Town. Two free schools, one for boys and the other for girls were established. The arrival of Mr. Knill in 1816 added new strength to the mission. He was succeeded by Mr. Traveller who exerted much among the inhabitants of Purasawakkam. In 1827 the Madras District Committee was formed. The mission was divided into two districts—Eastern and Western. Schools and preaching stations were founded. In 1831 a native church was erected in Purasawakkam.

In the meantime two missionary bodies had settled in the city. These were the Church Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Missionary Society. The disabilities connected with the missionaries leaving England for India were removed by the Charter Act of 1813. As a result of this Act, the Church Missionary Society opened their missions in Cochin and Travancore, at Mayavaram and Madras and other places. The Wesleyan Society had their branches in Madras, Royapettah and Bangalore, at Negapatam and Melnuttam. Besides converting the natives to their faith, these societies took more and more to educational activities.

A passing mention may be made of the activity of the Madras Bible Society. The translations of the Scriptures that had been attempted in the native tongues had their own imperfections, and were found far from satisfactory. So the Madras Bible Committee appointed special Committees to give these translations in Tamil, Telugu, Canarese and Malayalam a searching examination, and pains were taken to make these translations as perfect as possible. It is only after all the tests were satisfied that they were prescribed to be taught in schools and other institutions. The Scotchmen of Madras also had a share in the missionary activity. They constructed

St. Andrews Kirk in the Poonamallee Road in 1818–21 with aid from the Government, and it was opened for service in 1821. About that time other Churches—the Wesleyan Chapel in Broadway and St. Mathias Church at Vepery—were founded. Thus the nineteenth century was a period of expansion and growth of the Church in South India and especially in the city of Madras.

HĪNASIPPAS

By Atindra Nath Bose

The Suttavibhaṅga Pācittiya enumerates the five low occupations as distinct from the five low castes:

> hīnam nāma sippaṃ naḷakārasippaṃ kumbhakārasippaṃ pesakārasippaṃ cammakārasippaṃ nahāpitasippaṃ tesu tesu va pana janapadesu oññātaṃ avaññātaṃ hīḷitaṃ paribhūtaṃ acittikataṃ, etaṃ hīnaṃ nāma sippaṃ, II. 2. 1.

It would seem that for those who made their living by these trades there was no hard and fast line determined by birth. But, on the other hand, the tendency is very clear for the son to follow the father's craft. The association thus begun and the stigma laid on these crafts resulted in the course of centuries into complete identification of the craft with birth and the crystallization of thoroughgoing and hidebound castes on the basis of particular professions.

(1) The Basket-maker and (2) the Leather-worker

That caste and profession were fast converging and assuming a common border-line is clearly understood from the enumeration of the *naḷakāra* and the *cammakāra* among the crafts after the *veṇa* and the *rathakāra* are cited to illustrate caste groups. We have seen the annotator explain *veṇa* as *naḷakāra* (Pv-A., p. 175). The *naḷakāra* works with *veṇu* or reeds.[1] So the *rathakāra* and the *cammakāra* are used indiscriminately to denote the leather-worker.

(3) The Potter

The potter made earthen pots with clay and the wheel just as in the present day in the villages of India (Jāt., III. 368; Sn., II. 83; Mbh., XI. 3. 11ff.). He made vases with various artistic designs painted on them (Jāt., V. 291). The son generally followed the father's trade (II. 79; III. 376); but the mention of the *antevāsi* and the *ācariyo* in connection with this and similar petty professions implies that these were not necessarily hereditary (Jāt., V. 290f.; Dn., II. 88). The apprentice after learning the art from the master would certainly set up an establishment of his own or succeed to his master's.

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[1] pitāputtā naḷakārā . . . . . . gangātīre veḷuṃ upadhārentā, Jāt., IV. 318; naḷakārajeṭṭhaka . . . . . puttena saddhin gantvā tan veṇugumban chinditun ārabhi, Dhp-A., I. 177. Cf. Prince Kusa who enlists himself as an apprentice to a *naḷakāra* serving a royal house, makes a palm-leaf fan (tālavantaṃ) with paintings upon it, Jāt., V. 291f.; basket-makers weaving a mat—naḷakārā kilañjaṃ cinanti (II. 301).

The *kumbhakāra* is sometimes seen settled in villages outside city-gates (Jāt., III. 376, 508). But he does not generally appear in very dark colours. The potter Ghaṭikāra is a bosom friend (piyasahāyo) to the Brāhmaṇa Jotipāla, so much so that the two go to bathe together and the former even pulls the latter by the locks as an appeal to go to see Kassapa (Mn., 81).

(4) THE WEAVER

The weaver was the *pesakāra* or the *tantavāya* both of which were synonymous (Vin. Com., III. 259). Some sort of corporate life or guild organization seem to have developed among this profession. We hear of 'weavers' quarter' (tantavitataṭṭhānaṃ) in a *nigamagāma* (Jāt., I. 356) and of 'weavers' street' (pesakāravīthi) outside a city (Dhp-A., I. 424). Four weavers in Benares would divide the proceeds of their trade into five shares, taking one each and giving away the fifth in common on charity (Jāt., IV. 475). In the Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā eleven *pesakāras* with a *jeṭṭha-pesakāra* entertain a *bhikkhu* to cordial hospitality (pp. 42ff.).

The *pesakāra* is loosely defined as a craft and as a *vaṇṇa* (Dhp-A., I. 428). He is presented with the *kappaka*, the *naḷakāra* and the *kumbhakāra* in a list of ordinary craftsmen (puthusippāyatanāni) who maintain themselves and their parents and children and friends in happiness and comfort (Dn., II. 14). But his trade was not a lucrative one apparently because of the degradation of his race and craft (lāmakakamma, Jāt., I. 356). A weaver (tantavāya) dwelling outside city (bahinagare) who was spreading the threads (tantaṃ pasāreti) while his daughter moved the shuttle (tasaran vaḍḍheti) even when he was caught with senile decay was considered the poorest man in the city by Mahākassapa (ime mahallakakāḷe pi kammaṃ karonti, imasmin nagare imehi duggatatarā natthi manne, Dhp-A., I. p. 424). A *sāmaṇera* (novice monk) who is in love with a weaver's daughter is thus questioned by her parents: 'tvam amhe uccākulā ti sallakkhesi? Mayan pesakārā, sakkhissasi pesakārakamman kātun ti?' The love-lorn monk gallantly retorted: 'gihībhūto nāma pesakārakamman vā kāreyya, naḷakārakamman vā, kin iminā?'; and he obtains the girl and adopts the weaver's trade (Vbh-A., 294f.).

(5) THE BARBER

The barber (nahāpita, kappaka) used to do shaving, hair-dressing, cross-plaiting, shampooing, etc. (massukaraṇa-kesauṭṭhāpana-aṭṭhapadaṭṭhapanādīni sabba kiccāni karoti, Jāt., II. 5). His was a definitely dishonourable status. A court-valuer sneaks at a king's miserly offer to his prognoses as a barber's gift (nahāpitadāyo) and resigns (Jāt., IV. 137). A barber after becoming a *paccekabuddha* addresses the king, his late master, by his family name and the crowd is infuriated at such audacity on the part of a low caste person whose occupation is clearing of dirts (hīnajacco malamajjano nahāpitaputto, III. 453, II. 452). A barber asks his son to give up his ambition for a Licchavi princess as *hīnajacca*. The contrast set forth at the introduction of a story which recounts a similar fancy of a jackal for a lioness significantly reveals the depraved status of a barber: he is the same to a royal family as the jackal to a lion (II. 5).[1]

Was the barber's a more respectable calling in farther west from the Gangetic plains? In the Milinda list of crafts and professions he stands in company with cooks, smiths, florists, bathers, etc.[2] This profession is not stigmatized in the law-books or in relevant passages of the Epics. A *snātaka* is allowed food offered by a barber (Manu, IV. 253) but not by other artisans (214–20). Even today his position is not very dishonourable and he performs important functions in the family ceremonies of the upper orders.

(6) THE ACROBAT, MAGICIAN AND DANCER

Acrobats, dancers and jugglers (naṭa-nartaka) form a class by themselves. Very often these arts were combined in the same person. They entertained citizens in the *samājas* or festive amusements (Rām., I. 18. 18f.; II. 6. 14; 67. 9ff.) or roamed about exhibiting their skill (sippam dassento vicarati, Jāt., I. 430; māyaṃ vidhaṃseyya, Sn., III. 141) on the highroad.

Interesting specimens of this art are given. A man born in a jumper's family (lamghaṇa naṭaka yoniyaṃ paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā) lived with his pupil on the display of his feat (laṃghanasippaṃ) which consists in setting up a number of javelins in a row and dance through them (ibid.). Elsewhere two magician *naṭas* show their tricks. One of them conjures up a mango tree, climbs it, gets himself chopped to pieces by the slaves of Vessavana. His accomplices join the pieces together, pour water and bring him back to life. The other walks into fire with his troupe and comes out unscathed when the fire is burnt out (Jāt., IV. 324). Another conjurer swallows a sword 33 *angulas* long and of sharp edge, before a gathering (III. 338). The Arthaśāstra explains several magical tricks like fire-walking, fire in water, breaking of chains, acquirement of invisibility, etc.—many of these in a sham manner (XIV. 2, 3).

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[1] The royal barber is occasionally seen in friendly intercourse with the employer (Jāt., I. 137; Vin., VII. 14).

[2] Cf. Dn., II. 14.

These trades served as a wide channel for the wasting of the rich man's money. In the Sigālovāda Sutta (Dn.) the six dangers at a *samajjā* are dancing, singing, music, recitations, conjuring tricks and acrobatic shows (cf. Dn., I. i. 13). A prodigal son squanders paternal wealth of 40 crores on drinking, gluttony and debauchery and on jumpers, runners, singers and dancers (laṃghanadhāvanagītanaccādīni, Jāt., II. 431). But it does not seem that this money went to the pocket of the struggling man who was half an artist and half a tramp and who is uniformly portrayed as a wretched and despicable creature. The poor jumper who kills himself in trying to clear five spears instead of four which was within his practice (Jāt., I. 430), the dancer who drinks himself to death with all the earnings by his performance in a fête (III. 507), the impoverished family of acrobats (naṭakakula) reduced to begging (II. 167) are typical representatives of a class living a marginal existence. Presumably the rich gamblers betted in shows run by a parasitic set of people with professional jumpers and sprinters.

In the Milinda list of crafts, the *naṭaka, naccaka, laṃghaka, indajālika* and *malla* come in a series on the wake of the *māṃsika* and the *majjika*—the butcher and the brewer. Practice of dancing involves loss of caste (Manu, XI. 66). The professional dancer is among those from whom a Brāhmaṇa is not to take food (Mbh., XII. 37. 31). Viṣṇu assigns artistic performances like public wrestling and dancing to the *āyogava* caste generated by a Śūdra father on a Vaiśya mother (XVI. 8).

(7) THE SNAKE-CHARMER

Like the acrobat, the snake-charmer showed his tricks (ahiguṇḍike sippaṃ kīlāpenti, Jāt., II. 429) in festivals (ussava) very often with a monkey in his party (II. 267; III. 198; IV. 308). His was a highly developed and well-cultivated art (ahivijjā, Dn., I. i. 21). A Brāhmaṇa learns charms from a world-renowned teacher at Taxila and adopts the profession. He approaches a python (which is Bodhisatta) with magical herbs and repeating magical spells (dibbasodhāni gahetvā dibbamantaṃ parivattetvā). The reptile feels its ears pierced, as it were, with burning splinters, its head as though broken by the blow of a sword (kaṇṇesu tattasalākappavesanakālo viyo jāto, mattaho sikhareṇa abhimatthiyamāno viya jāto). He spits upon it eating herbs and repeating charms and raises blisters in its body. The teeth are then broken by the same process and the body of the animal squeezed to weaken it out.[1] Certain physical processes are applied on the serpent evidently for the purpose of wearing out its resistance which is then put into an osier-basket (vallīhi peḷaṃ karitvā).

The snake-charmer earns 1,000 *kahāpaṇas* by performance in a frontier village and sets out on his trade with a loaded cart and a pleasure-car (Jāt., IV. 456ff.). In the Bhuridatta Jātaka where a similar process of snake-catching is described and where also the snake is a Bodhisatta, the charmer by showing snake-dance in a single village makes a sum of 100,000 *kahāpaṇas*; people see with gold coin, gold, garments, ornaments and the like (VI. 185f.). He comes to play his snake before the king 'just bathed and anointed, and wearing a tunic of fine cloth, and making his attendant carry his jewelled basket' which is placed on a dappled rug (191).

The princely returns which only the feats of a Bodhisatta snake can account for and the position of an artisan performing before royal audience are not the real index of the standard of living of the class. Snake-charming is one of the despicable callings taken up by degenerate Brāhmaṇas (Dn., I. i. 19ff.). The *āhiṇḍika* is among the mixed castes born of a *niṣāda* father and a *vaideha* mother (Manu, X. 37).

(8) THE SNAKE-DOCTOR

Closely allied to the snake-charmer's was the profession of the snake-doctor, for the two are sometimes seen combined in the same person (Jāt., VI. 181). Venom-specialists who can cure snake-bite are a common reference in the Jātakas (III. 496; VI. 585). The means for extracting poison were medicines and charms (osadehi ca mantahi ca) with which Bodhisatta, born in a family of snake-doctors (visavejjakule), used to practise (I. 310f.; V. 202). The very nature of the profession shows that it was not a lucrative one and the common standard is reflected in the doctor without practice in the village (dubbalovejjo gāme kiñci kammaṃ alabhitvā) who plays a trick on some boys to have them snake-bitten and then to cure them for a fee (III. 202). The infallibility of *mantas* was moreover doubtful.

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[1] Technical languages are used in this connection which are difficult to decipher: nanguṭṭhe gahetvā paṭṭakaveṭhanan nāma veṭhesi, tantamajjitan nāma majji, dussapaṭhiman nāma peṭhesi. Cowell renders 'cloth-wrap', 'rope-rubbing', 'cotton blow'.

The *mantras* of the venom-specialist Brāhmaṇas prevented the snake Takṣaka from having direct access to King Parikṣita, but the success of his ruse is a sad commentary on their efficacy (Mbh., I. 42). And when Arrian quotes Nearchos that Indians can cure snake-bites where Greek physicians fail (15) it is not impossible that his authority was merely echoing Indians' vaunting.

(9) The Physician

The medical profession ranged from wide pharmacopœial knowledge to quackery and sorcery. Megasthenes observes both the sides of the picture. He speaks of physicians whose most esteemed remedies were ointments and plasters and who 'effect cures rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines'. At the same time he notices 'diviners and sorcerers . . . . who go about begging both in villages and towns' (Str., XV. i. 60).

The renowned Ayurvedic school at Taxila is a tribute to the development of medical knowledge. Jīvaka, the celebrated house-physician to the Magadhan king Bimbisāra, received his education there. (Mv., VIII. 6). The ancient teachers of medicology (tikicchakānaṇ pubbakā ācariyā) are thus named: Nārada, Dhannantari (physician of the gods—specialist in snake-bite), Angīrasa (versed in the charms of Atharvaveda against disease), Kapila, Kaṇḍaraggisāma, Atula and Pubba Kaccāyana (Mil., p. 272). The parable of an expert physician and surgeon (kusalo bhisakko sallakatto) who operates upon and treats a sceptic wound caused by weapon (Mil., pp. 110ff.; Mv., VI. 1ff.) or a boil (Mil., pp. 149, 353) or who can cure a leper in advanced stage or 'give the blind man his eyes' (Mn., 75) exhibits an advanced knowledge of pharmacopœia. But as in all ancient culture groups, medical lore was vitiated with demonology and exorcism (bhūtavijjā, Dn., I. i. 21; bhūtavejjaṃ, Jāt., III. 511). In the introductory story of a Jātaka tale, even in the portion which is supposed to be later composition, a boy is advised to escape from a disease-infected house by digging a hole in the wall as the spirit of disease was supposed to guard the gate but not other parts of the house (II. 79). Belief in spirits was not the only limitation to the science. The Vijayasutta of the Suttanipāta exhibits some elementary knowledge of anatomy and ends by denouncing love for an impure thing like the human body (cf. An., V. 110).

The art of healing was stigmatized (Mbh., V. 38. 4; XIII. 135. 14). Not only is a Brāhmaṇa prohibited from dealing in medicinal herbs (Manu, X. 86–89; Gaut., VII. 9ff.; Āpas., I. 20. 12), he is not to take the food offered by the physician (Manu, IV. 211ff.; Āpas. I.

6. 19. 15; Mbh., XII. 37. 29ff.). Indra opposes the offering of Soma juice to the twin Aświns, for their profession had degraded them to the position of servants (Mbh., III. 124. 12). Manu assigns medical practice to the mixed caste of Ambaṣṭhas (X. 47).

But however stigmatized, for a good practitioner it was not a poor profession. Because people do spend for the impure filth of human body. By curing a patient Jīvaka gets 16,000 *kahāpaṇas* and a servant and a maid-servant (Mv., VIII. 13). For curing the chief *seṭṭhi* of Rājagaha, he charges a fee of 100,000 (20). Nor was his status a degraded one. So Suṣeṇa, the State-physician of the *vānaras* of Kiṣkindhyā (Rām., VI. 101. 43) enjoyed presumably a quite respectable status. There appears to be an air of unreality in the unqualified damnation of the medical practice in the literature of the western districts; in the Gangetic provinces at least, the profession as such probably did not suffer under any stigma. The position of the practitioner depended on his practice as now and ever.

MISCELLANEOUS

The list given above is not exhaustive. In the Śāntiparva, appearance in theatres (rangāvatarana), disguising oneself in divers forms (rūpopajīvanaṃ), sale of liquor and meat (madyaṃāṃsopajīvyāñca) are among censured professions (295. 5f.). A washerman, one who lives on the income of dancing girls (rangastrījīvināṃ), professional panegyrists and gamblers (vandidyūtavidāṃ) and singers and jesters (hāsaka) are among those whose food is forbidden to a Brāhmaṇa (37. 29ff.). A Brāhmaṇa is prohibited from selling salt, cooked food, curds, milk, honey, oil, clarified butter, sesame, meat, fruit, roots, pot-herbs, dye cloths, perfumery and treacle (Mbh., V. 38. 5). To live by purveying in lac, honey,[1] meat[1] and poison is a curse (Rām., II. 75. 38). The Smṛtis also give butchers, meat-sellers, killers and trappers of divers animals, trainers of animals, makers of and dealers in weapons, smiths, carpenters, weavers, dyers, oil-pressers, ploughmen, artisans, mechanics, architects, superintendents of workers in mines and factories, engineers, washermen, quacks, tailors, shopkeepers, publicans, police-officers, mace-bearers, astrologers, soothsayers, weather prophets (Manu, III. 150–63; IV. 84, 210–20; VIII. 65f.; XI. 64; XII. 45f.; Āpas., I. 6. 14; Gaut., XVII. 17; Vāś., III. 3; XIV. 2-3; Baudh., I. 5. 10. 24; II. 1. 2. 13; Nār., I. 178, 181, 183–85; Vṛ., XXII. 3; Viṣ., XXXVII. 22. 32; LI. 8, 10, 13–15; LXXXII. 7, 9). The stigma to some of these were only relative to the so-called religious caste while to others, i.e. where the subject is disqualified as witness, pointed an absolute standard by which the economic functions of society could be regulated.

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[1] Trade in honey and meat is censured also in Manu, III. 151 and in Jāt., IV. 361.

The professions assigned in the law books to the so-called mixed castes were *ipse jure* infamous. Guardianship of the harem is the appropriate function of the Vaidehaka (cf. Manu, X. 47; Mbh., XIII. 48. 10)[1]; managements of horses and chariots (Manu, X. 47; Viṣ., XVI. 13) or singing encomiums (Mbh., XIII. 48. 10) of the Suta. The Āyogava is a carpenter (13) or net-maker (20). The Maireyaka manufactures wine and spirits (20).

Evidently no rigid and uniform classification prevailed. The Vinaya passage quoted at the beginning of the chapter indicates that besides the damned five there were other pursuits despised in other countries. Standards varied in countries and among communities. What was honourable at some place might be dishonourable at another. The whole of half-Aryanized Magadha was low in the eyes of the dwellers in the land of Manu, of the high-browed and sneakish *udiccabrāhmaṇa* keenly sensitive of his pedigree. The Śākyas and the Koliyas regarded each other as barbarous people pursuing customs opposed to their own sense of decency (Jāt., V. 412). There was further, a host of artisan classes who filled a wide range of middle position in economic condition and social esteem: the smith, the carpenter, the garland-maker, the musician, the actor, the panegyrist, the buffoon, the drummer, the butcher, the brewer, the brothel-keeper and so on.

VAGRANCY

Below the great estates of wealth and honour, outside the labouring classes, the despised castes and the despised callings—the vagrant or the professional beggar completes the social picture. There was no flooded mass of starving unemployed; and to many, beggary was a profitable business. Alms-giving being an acid test of piety, kings and merchants erected big charity halls in the city wherefrom alms were distributed to thousands of people every day (Jāt., III. 129, 300, 414; IV. 15, 63, 176, 402; V. 383; VI. 97; Dn., XVII. i. 23). Professional beggars multiplied fruitfully under the shelter of indiscriminate charity and we hear of beggar families (duggatakula, Jāt., I. 238) as much as of an acrobat family or a wage-earning family. There were people with whom begging was the last trench in the battle for existence. With the disruption of the primitive agricultural and pastoral economy, with the growth of cities and aggravation of famines, there were many who remained outside the reach of the benevolent and wealthy. The Jātaka verse refers to 'those who begged for need' (VI. 502)[1] and it is not an unexpected fate for a disinherited Brāhmaṇa boy, reduced to destitution and beggary, to die helpless on the street (V. 468; cf. Therīg., 122ff.).[2]

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[1] According to Viṣṇu 'keeping (dancing girls and other public) women and profiting by what they earn' (XVI. 12).

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[1] The commentary goes: vanibbakajanesu kañci ekaṃ pi yācakaṃ mā vihiṭṭhayittha.

[2] I should like to draw the writer's attention to my two books, 'India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism' (chapter III) and 'Concepts of Buddhism' (chapter III), where he will be able to have more light on the subject.—B. C. Law.

LAKṢMAṆA BHAṬṬA

By J. B. CHAUDHURI

[*Abbreviations.*—PR. = Padya-racanā; PT. = Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī; PV. = Padya-veṇī (MS.); SA. = Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa (MS.); SHV. = Subhāṣita-hārāvalī (MS.); SS. = Sūkti-sundara (MS.); SSS. = Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya (MS.).]

It may be said at the outset that poet Lakṣmaṇa mentioned in the Sūkti-muktāvalī of Jalhaṇa and the Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva flourished much earlier than Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa, author of the Padya-racanā. The Padya-racanā is the source of most of the verses of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa—quoted in the Subhāṣita-hārāvalī, Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya, Sūkti-sundara, Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa, Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī, etc. Only six verses of Lakṣmaṇa quoted in these works cannot be traced to their sources, viz. तारका-विमल॰ = SSS. 190; मरुतो हन्त, etc. = SA. 609; रोरीत्येतद॰ = PT. 47; सरोरुहाम्भोरुह॰ = SA. 446; स्फुरत्तुरग॰ = PV. 157 and स्मेरायमाण-वदन॰ = SSS. 834 = SA. 196.

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Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa, commentator of the Naiṣadha carita,[3] and of the Gīta-govinda,[4] is probably identical with our poet. He also appears to have composed, in collaboration with Vidyādhara, a work called Pratinaiṣadha during the reign of Shah Jahan in 1652 A.D. (Saṃvat 1708).

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No. 4235 of Tanjore MSS., Library),[1] and the other rhetorical, viz. Sāharājīya (MSS. No. 5304-5305) of the same Library, are at present known. In the latter which is of the same type as the Pratāparudrīya of Vaidyanātha, King Sāha, patron of Lakṣmaṇa, is praised in almost every stanza.[2] This Lakṣmaṇa does not seem to have been identical with our poet, as nowhere in the large number of verses of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa collected by us is there any reference to King Shahji.

Lakṣmaṇa quotes in the Padya-racanā the verses of one Veṇīdatta, son of Bhogin. Veṇīdatta, author of the Padyaveṇī, was the son of Jagajjīvana. Therefore, these two Veṇīdattas cannot be identical, provided Bhogin be not an alternative name of Jagajjīvana. The verses of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa may be classified as follows:—

1. Grantha-kartṛ-maṅgalācaraṇādi; PR. 1. 1–5.
2. Incarnations of Viṣṇu:—
    - (*a*) Nṛsiṃha: PR. 2. 11.
    - (*b*) Rāma: PR. 3. 17–SHV. 12.
3. Gods:—
    - (*a*) Śiva: PR. 5. 26.
    - ,, Tāṇḍava: PR. 6. 29.
    - (*b*) Gaṇeśa: PR. 6. 30–PV. 10.

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[1] The last verse and colophon of the work are given below:

शाहेन्द्रो महितः श्रयन्ति विबुधाः शाहेन्दिरं नो समः
शाहेन्द्रेण च रोचतेऽखिल-कला शाहेन्दिराय स्थितौ ।
शाहेन्द्रात् सुकृतं कलौ वर-गुणाः शाहेन्दिरस्यैव त-
च्छाहेन्द्रे तनया भवन्त्विति परं त्वाशासनीयं बुधैः ॥

इति श्रीविश्वेश्वर-शास्त्रि-सुत-लक्ष्मण-विरचिता शाहराज-सभा-सरोवर्णिनी कलिकोत्कलिकाख्या चूर्णिका सम्पूर्णा ।

[2] Lakṣmaṇa pays homage to his parents in the Introductory verse No. 3:—

काशी-निवास-चतुरौ पितरौ भवानी-
विश्वेश्वरौ सुकृति-रोचित-सच्चरित्रौ ।
श्री-सिद्धये सपदि लक्ष्मण-नामधेय-
बालो नमामि नितरामतिमाननीयौ ॥

Colophon:—

एवमत्र ग्रन्थे श्रीशाहमहाराजे उचिताः सर्वेऽलङ्काराः सभेद-लक्षण-लक्ष्यं प्रतिपादिताः ।

These two MSS. have not as yet been published.

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(c) Bhavānī : PR. 6. 34 and PR. 6. 35.
(d) Gaṇeśa : PR. 8. 42–PT. 41.
(e) Maṇikarṇi : PR. 8. 44.

4. Fame, etc :—
(a) Fame : PR. 9–10. 1–3.
PR. 4–SS. 58.
PR. 5–SS. 59.
PR. 6–SS. 60.
PR. 11–12. 16.
(b) Fame of the enemy : PR. 12. 17.
(c) Prowesses : PR. 12. 19–SS. 100.
(d) Fame and Prowess : PR. 14. 27.
(e) Gift : 14. 30-31.

5. King :—
Eulogy of Rāmacandra : PT. 47 (not found in the PR.).
(a) Starting for conquest : PR. 17. 9.
(b) Fight : PR. 22. 23–PV. 154.
(c) Battle-field : PR. 23. 44–SS. 166.
PR. 24. 45–SS. 167.
PV. 157 (not found in PR.).
(d) Wife of the enemy : PR. 25. 55, 25-26, 56 and 26. 57.

6. Sentiments :—
(a) Sṛṅgāra—Kāma-prabhāva : PR. 29. 2.
Vayaḥ-sandhi : PR. 30. 6.
PR. 30. 7. SSS. 800.
Tāruṇya : PR. 31. 17. SA. 204.
,, SSS. 834–SA. 196.
(not found in the Padya-racanā of L.B.)

7. Features of beautiful damsel :—
(a) Hair : PR. 31. 32. 18.
(b) Face : PR. 32. 23.
PR. 33. 24.
(c) Glance : PR. 34. 32–PV. 241–SA. 85.
PR. 34. 33.
(d) Nāsā-mauktika : 34. 36.
(e) Breasts : 36. 46.
(f) Middle of the body : 36. 50.
(g) Romāvali : 37. 55-56.

8. Separated woman and man :—PR. 39. 1.
   - (*a*) Woman : PR. 39. 2–PT. 170.
     PR. 40. 3.
   - (*b*) Man : PR. 44. 8–10.

9. Woman :—
   Navoḍhā-vāhya-suratārambha : SA. 446 (not found in PR.).
   - (*a*) Prauḍha : 50. 25–SA. 453.
   - (*b*) Kulaṭā : 52. 41.

10. Love :—
    - (*a*) Mānāpanoda : PR. 55. 15.
    - (*b*) Paraspara-prīti-pralāpa : PR. 55. 16–SA. 780–SSS. 684 (Nāyikāyāḥ).
    - (*c*) Do. PR. 55-56. 17-18–SSS. 685-686.
    - (*d*) Rata-praśaṃsā : PR. 56. 19–SSS. 697–SA. 457.
    - (*e*) Ratārambha : PR. 56. 20–SSS. 704.
      PR. 56. 21–SA. 445.

11. Different parts of the day, sports, etc. :—
    - (*a*) Morning : PR. 62. 17.
    - (*b*) Forest-sports : PR. 64. 33–SSS. 86.
    - (*c*) Dṛṅmīlana-krīḍā : PR. 66. 43–SA. 170.

12. Nature :—
    - (*a*) Stars : PR. 69. 7–SA. 375.
      SSS. 190 (not found in the PR.)
    - (*b*) Moon : PR. 70. 8–SA. 394.
      PR. 70. 13 and 71. 18.
    - (*c*) Wind : SA. 609 (not found in the PR.)

13. Nāyakas :—
    - (*a*) Dakṣiṇa-nāyaka : PR. 73. 7.
    - (*b*) Māni-nāyaka : PR. 74. 11.
    - (*c*) Śiśu-nāyaka : PR. 74. 16.
    - (*d*) Vṛddha-nāyaka : PR. 75. 18.
    - (*e*) Vidagdha-nāyaka : PR. 75. 19.

14. Season :—
    - (*a*) Rainy season : PR. 75. 23.
      Roaring of clouds : PR. 76. 31–SA. 560.
      PR. 76. 32–SA. 561.
      PR. 76. 33–SSS. 365.
      A separated woman in rainy season : PR. 77. 36–SSS. 393.

A separated woman in rainy season: (contd.)
A fire-fly in rainy season: PR. 77. 37–SA. 557.
(*b*) Autumn: PR. 78. 1–SSS. 402–SA. 589.
PR. 79. 9.
(*c*) Hemanta: PR. 80. 14–SSS. 427.
PR. 80. 15–SSS. 433.
PR. 80. 16.
(*d*) Winter: PR. 81. 22-23.
(*e*) Spring—(i) Vasanta-saṃdhi: PR. 81-82, 28-29.
(ii) Vasanta: 82, 30.
(*f*) Summer: PR. 82. 35. SA. 530.
PR. 82. 36.

15. Sentiments:—
(*a*) Hāsya: PR. 84. 4-5.
(*b*) Karuṇa: PR. 84. 6.
(*c*) Raudra: PR. 86. 15.
(*d*) Bhayānaka: PR. 86. 20.
(*e*) Bībhatsa: PR. 87. 22.
(*f*) Adbhuta: PR. 87. 25.
(*g*) Śānta: PR. 87-88: 27–39.
PR. 92. 66 and 68.

16. Anyoktis:—
(*a*) Kalpadruma: PR. 93. 2.
(*b*) Mango: PR. 94. 12.
(*c*) Palm: PR. 95. 17.
(*d*) Tree: PR. 95. 18.
PR. 96. 21.
(*e*) Lotus: PR. 96. 22.
PR. 93. 23–PV. 735.
(*f*) Lily: PR. 93. 25.
(*g*) Bees: PR. 97. 28-29.
(*h*) Cuckoo: PR. 97. 33.
(*i*) Cātaka: PR. 98. 35.
(*j*) Parrot: PR. 98. 37-38.
(*k*) Swan: PR. 99. 41.
(*l*) Spring: PR. 100. 50-51.
(*m*) Lion: PR. 101. 57.
(*n*) Elephant: PR. 102. 62.
(*o*) Deer: PR. 103. 71.
(*p*) Cloud: PR. 103-104. 72–75.
(*q*) Wind: PR. 105. 82.

17. Miscellaneous:—
(*a*) Kautukākhyāna; PR. 106, 2,

(*b*) Citra-Kāvya: 110. 28-29.
(*c*) The miser: PR. 113. 51.
(*d*) A wicked person: PR. 114. 57.
(*e*) Penance-grove: PR. 116. 70.
(*f*) Kāvya-praśaṃsā: PR. 119. 92-93.

The predecessors or contemporaries of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa whose verses have been quoted in the Padya-racanā are:—

1. Acala: 64. 32.
1(*a*) Akbarīya-kālidāsa: 11. 14; 21. 27.
2. Amaruka: 54. 11; 55. 14.
3. Ambaṣṭha: 14. 29; 76. 29.
4. Ānandavardhana: 102. 63.
5. Avantivarman: 62. 18.
6. Avilamba: 54. 8.
7. Bābu Misra: 54. 9.
8. Bāṇa: 48. 12.
9. Bhānukara:—2. 10; 3. 14; 4. 19; 4. 23; 5. 24-25; 5. 28; 7. 38; 7. 40; 8. 45-46; 9. 47; 10. 8; 13. 23–25; 14. 32; 15. 33; 16. 38-39; 16. 3-4; 17. 6–8; 18. 14-15; 19. 16–20; 20. 26; 21. 32; 22. 34-35; 24. 49; 25. 50; 27. 63–66; 28. 68–70; 30. 8-9; 31. 15-16; 32. 20; 33. 25-26; 33. 29; 34. 31; 36. 47; 36. 49; 37. 51-52; 38. 59-60; 38. 63; 39. 65–67; 41. 13–16; 42. 17-18; 46. 19-20; 46. 4; 47. 7-8; 48. 14-15; 49. 17; 49. 22; 50. 23-24; 50. 26-27; 51. 29–34; 52. 35; 52. 38-39; 53. 2–6; 54. 7; 54. 12; 56. 22-23; 57. 25-26; 58. 34-35; 59. 41-42; 61. 12-13; 64. 29-30; 65. 36–38; 67. 49–51; 68. 55; 69. 3-4; 70. 9-10; 72. 21; 72. 3; 73. 4–6; 73. 8–10; 74. 15; 74. 17; 75. 22; 77. 38; 78. 39; 78. 2–4; 79. 11-12; 80. 19-20; 81. 21; 82. 32–34; 83. 39–41; 84. 1; 84. 7; 86. 18-19; 87. 26; 92. 67; 97. 34; 99. 43-44; 100. 49; 102. 59; 103. 69-70; 106. 86; 108. 17; 112. 50; 114-115: 62–65; 116. 71-72; 119. 90-91.
Bhānu Miśra (=Bhānukara) 6. 32-33.
10. Bhojadeva: 101. 53.
11. Bhartṛhari: 59. 39; 89. 40–44; 115. 67-68; 92. 62; 98. 39; 102. 61; 111. 38; 111. 40; 112. 41.
12. Bhāsa: 35. 44; 78. 5.
13. Bilhaṇa: 33. 27; 35. 39; 38. 64; 45. 18; 64. 31; 66. 45.
14. Bhavabhūti: 85. 9.
15. Daṇḍin: 48. 11; 85. 12; 110. 31-32.
16. Deveśvara: 24. 48; 106. 1; 108-109; 19–26.
17. Dharaṇīdhara: 10. 10; 13. 21; 22. 36.

18. Dhūrta: 57. 28.
19. Gaṇapati: 5. 27; 10. 7; 20. 24; 32. 21-22; 33. 28; 34. 30; 34. 35; 36. 48; 37. 53-54; 38. 61; 42. 19–23; 46. 2; 47. 6; 48. 16; 49. 21; 62. 14-15; 63. 22–26; 65. 39-40; 66. 44; 69. 5-6; 70. 11-12; 71. 14; 71. 19-20; 82. 31; 116. 76.
20. Gaṇeśvara: 118. 89.
21. Gadādhara: 29. 5; 66. 46; 75. 25; 83. 37; 85. 10; 117. 79.
22. Gauḍa: 23. 39.
23. Govardhana: 118. 85.
24. Guṇākara: 64. 34; 65. 35.
25. Harihara: 68. 54; 99. 45.
25(*a*) Kṛṣṇa Miśra: 86. 17.
26. Harṣadatta: 12. 18.
27. Indra Kavi: 87. 23.
28. Jayadeva: 30. 11; 40. 6.
29. Jaghanacapalā: 52. 36.
30. Kālidāsa: 23. 40; 40. 8; 44. 11; 45. 12; 49. 20; 65. 41; 81. 24; 85. 13; 115. 69.
31. Kavikaṅkaṇa: 80. 13.
31(*a*) Kavīndra: 58. 36.
32. Kavirāja: 77. 34; 79. 8; 117. 80.
32(*a*) Kṣemendra: 7. 39; 84. 2.
34. Lakṣmaṇa.
35. Lakṣmaṇa Ṭhakkura: 46. 3.
36. Lakṣmaṇa Sena: 103. 68.
37. Lakṣmīdhara: 37. 57.
38. Līlāvatīkāra: 85. 11.
39. Mahādeva: 96. 19.
40. Māgha: 3. 13; 62. 16; 72. 22.
41. Maithila: 43. 4.
42. Morikā: 48. 13.
43. Murāri: 116. 73-74.
44. Nārāyaṇa: 86. 16.
45. Nidrādaridra: 45. 15.
46. Parimala: 106. 90.
47. Pāṇini: 77. 35.
48. Rāghavacaitanya: 118. 84.
49. Raghupati: 76. 28.
50. Raṅganātha: 104. 76.
51. Ratnākara: 26. 60; 67. 47.
52. Rāmacandra: 1. 6; 2. 7–9; 3. 12; 4. 20-21; 10. 9; 15. 34; 17. 10; 35. 38; 40. 4-5; 43. 3; 58. 31; 59. 38; 62. 19-20; 76. 26-27; 76. 30; 97. 32; 117. 79.

53. Rudra: 19. 19; 69. 2.
54. Śakavṛddhi: 35. 41; 35. 43; 36. 45.
55. Saṃkarācārya: 38. 58.
56. Ṣāṇmāsika: 41. 11-12.
57. Śārṅgadhara: 34. 34; 57. 29; 101. 54.
58. Sarvadāsa: 75. 24.
59. Somadeva: 90. 47–50.
60. Srīharṣa: 15. 35; 19. 21; 27. 62; 34. 31; 42. 24; 59. 43; 67. 48.
61. Subandhu: 114. 58.
62. Trivikrama: 20. 23; 31. 14; 117. 82.
63. Trivikrama or Trilocana: 118. 87.
64. Umāpati Upādhyāya: 44. 6.
65. Vāhinīpati: 41. 10; 63. 21.
66. Vaidyabhānu: 25. 52; 35–42.
67. Vaidyanātha: 34. 37.
68. Vararuci (?) (Murāri): 87. 21.
69. Vālmīki: 38. 62; 43. 1; 79. 6.
70. Varāhamihira: 23. 38.
71. Vāmana: 55. 13.
72. Vāṇīvilāsa: 43. 25; 58. 30; 71. 17.
73. Vāsudeva: 67. 42.
74. Veṇīdatta, son of Bhogin: 7. 36-37; 13. 22; 14. 28; 16. 2; 20. 25.
75. Vikaṭanitambā: 96. 26.
76. Vyāsa: 23. 41-42.

Works quoted by name in the Padya-racanā:—

1. Bhoja-prabandha: 61. 11; 79. 7; 94. 10-11; 104. 77; 113. 55.
2. Bilhaṇa-śataka: 90-91; 51–60.
3. Mahākāvya: 18. 12.
4. Mahānāṭaka: 3. 16; 11. 13; 13. 26; 15. 30; 18. 11; 28. 76. (Hanumataḥ): 72. 2.
5. Veṇī-saṃhāra-nāṭaka: 23. 43; 24. 47.
6. Vāśiṣṭha or Yoga-vāśiṣṭha: 112. 42.

Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa as a Poet

Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa has a graceful style and a high-soaring imagination. Thus, addressing a king, the poet says that his fame is nothing but mercury which, being heated on the flames of the king's prowess, gushes out and gets stuck to the sky in the form of stars.[1]

Again, his fame is the supreme mistress of the three worlds as it were, sporting as it does in the Milk-Ocean, washing its feet with nectar, making the lunar beams its clothes, anointing its body with sandal paste, dancing at sweet will on the head of Ananta and sleeping on the moon.[2]

The rainy season is out for conquering the world, for it is evidently sent for that purpose by Kāmadeva. Again the poet presumes that the enveloping of the moon by the cloud at that time is indicative of eating curd and the plentiful Durvā-grasses[3] growing then, of the symbolic auspiciousness during its start. Our poet thinks, the rumbling sound of clouds is nothing but the piteous cry of the lunar and solar discs as well as the stars devoured by the clouds from within the stomachs of the same.[4] Again, he fancies that the reverberating sound of clouds is nothing but the trumpeting of Kāmadeva as to the punishment of an angry woman forthwith if she persists in her wrath any longer.[5]

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[1] क्षये नृपति-मण्डली-मुकुट-रत्न युष्मद्भुजा-
महोष्म-तति-संजुषा वत भवत्-प्रतापार्चिषा ।
द्विषामतिभ्रशं यशः प्रकट-पारदोध्मापना-
दुदस्फुटत तारका-कपटतो विहायस्तटे ॥
—PR. 12. 19=SS. 100.

[2] दुग्धाम्भोधावगाधे विहरति सुधया क्षालयत्यङ्घ्रि-युग्मं
कृत्स्नां ज्योत्स्नां दुकूलं कलयति मलयोद्भूत-चर्चां तनोति ।
स्वच्छन्दं नृत्यति द्रागुरगपति-शिरस्येव निद्राति चन्द्रे
त्वत्कीर्तिः स्वामिनीव त्रिजगति विहरत्येवमुर्वीश गुर्वी ॥
—PR. 10. 5=SS. 59.

[3] कामेन कामं प्रहिता जवेन प्रावृट् चचाल त्रिजगद्विजेतुम् ।
किं चन्द्र-बिम्बं दधि भक्षयन्ती संधारयन्ती हरितः शुभाय ॥
—PR. 75. 23=SSS. 348=SA. 551.

[4] चन्द्र-बिम्ब-रवि-बिम्ब-तारका-मण्डलानि घन-मेघ-डम्बरैः ।
भक्षितानि जलदोदरेषु तद्रोदन-ध्वनिरिवैष गर्जितम् ॥
—PR. 76. 32=SA. 561.

[5] या कामिनी सा यदि मानिनी स्यात् स्मरस्य राज्ञो ह्यपराधिनी स्यात् ।
दूतीव दण्डैः किमु ताड्यतेऽसौ कादम्बिनी काम-नृपस्य ढक्का ॥
—PR. 76. 31.

The fireflies are nothing but sparkles of the fire of lightning shooting out on account of the collision between the cloud and the sky.[1]

Again, our poet is not lacking in sly humour. Thus, in a verse he opines that the cowherdesses had better play hide and seek without Kṛṣṇa; for, if he once hides himself in Tulasī leaves, he cannot be found out as the Tulasī leaves and Kṛṣṇa are of the same colour.[2]

The Anyoktis of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa are fine. The lotus-leaf, born though it is of muddy water, is itself very pure and is not stained in the least by it.[3]

Women in love have been beautifully portrayed by the poet. A woman in her blossoming youth, using her eye-brow constantly as the bow of Madana,[4] falls headlong in love; consequently separation from the lover is what she dreads most and hates like hell. The lover is her whole existence.[5] The wind dallying with her like a lover pains her the most.[1] The lover, however, returns and prevails upon her to give up her wrath; he praises her for her beauty and personal charm.[2] She in her turn tells him that it is only unfortunate that she has only two eyes to witness that beauty which is worth visiting with thousand eyes.[3]

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[1] खद्योत-पोत-प्रकराः समं खे द्योतन्त एते द्युतिभिः प्रचण्डाः ।
पयोद-संघट्ट-विघट्टनस्य किं वैद्युतस्य ज्वलनस्य खण्डाः ॥
—PR. 77. 37=SA. 557.

[2] एनं विहाय तुलसी-विपिनोपकण्ठं
गोप्यः परत्र नयनाम्बुज-मीलनानि ।
कुर्वन्तु किन्तु तुलसी-दल-नील-भासं
का वा मुकुन्दमनुविन्दतु लीनमस्मिन् ॥
—PR. 66. 43=SA. 170.

[3] रे पद्मिनी-पत्र भवच्चरित्रं चित्रं प्रतीमो वयमत्र किञ्चित् ।
त्वं पङ्क-जन्माऽपि यदच्छ-भावादपि स्पृशस्यम्बु न पङ्कसङ्गि ॥
—PR. 96. 23.

[4] उदञ्चद्वक्षोज-द्वय-तट-भर-क्षोभित-कटि
स्फुरद्दृग्भ्यां मन्दीकृत-विलसदिन्दीवर-युगम् ।
समुद्यद्-भ्रू-भङ्ग-प्रविहित-धनुर्भङ्गमनिशं
वयस्तत् पद्माक्ष्याः कथमिव मनो न व्यथयतु ॥
—PR. 31. 17=SA. 204.

[5] इयं धत्ते धीरे मलयज-समीरे न च मुदं
न पद्मानां द्वन्द्वे ललित-मकरन्देऽपि रमते ।
न वा सा सानन्दा भवति नव-कुन्दावलि-कुले
तदेतस्या बाधाहरमपि समाधानमिह किम् ॥
—PR. 39. 2.

Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa is an adept in the employment of the figures of speech. Thus, describing how the king obtained Fortune by churning the Battle-sea with the elephant-rod, the poet furnishes us with a good example of the metaphor.[4] Our poet declares the moon to be the lion of the sky-forest, the umbrella of king Kāmadeva, the play-ball of the damsels presiding over horizons, etc., and thus gives us a fine instance of the Mālā-rūpaka (or a series of meta-

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[1] ददात्यधर-चुम्बनं नयन-पङ्कजं मुद्रय-
त्यमन्द-पुलकं मनागमलमङ्गमालिङ्गति ।
विचालयति चालकं चपल-लोचनानां हठा-
त्तनोत्यविनयं मरुत् प्रिय इवैष हैमन्तिकः ॥

[2] (*a*) त्वदीय-मुख-पङ्कजं यदि विधोरलं वार्तया
तवाधर-सुधा यदा भवति किं सुधा नो सुधा ।
त्वदङ्ग-परिरम्भणं भणकृतं सुधा-गाहनै-
स्त्वदीय-दृगनुग्रहस्तदपि धिग्धिगैन्द्रं पदम् ॥
—PR. 55. 17.

(*b*) दृश्यं चेन्मुख-पङ्कजं तव यदि श्राव्यं तव व्याहृतं
घ्रेयं चेन्मुख-सौरभं तव यदि स्वाद्यं तवौष्ठामृतम् ।
स्पृश्यं चेत् कुचयोर्युगं तव परं ध्येयं सुरूपं तव
त्वं सर्वेन्द्रिय-वागुरेव विषयः कस्येन्द्रियस्यापि न ॥
—PR. 55. 18.

[3] सहस्र-नेत्रैः प्रिय-गात्र-शोभां विभावनीयां तु निभालयन्त्याः ।
किं लोचनाम्भोरुह-युग्मपत्रं विधाय धातः परिवञ्चिताऽस्मि ॥
—PR. 55. 16=SA. 780=SSS. 684.

[4] कृपाण-किरणानलं रुधिर-नीर-पूरच्छटा-
जटाल-तल-संकुलं भट-तिमिङ्गिलैराकुलम् ।
प्रमथ्य समरार्णवं वरमकर्षि लक्ष्मीस्त्वया
विधाय मद-मन्थरं मथन-मन्दरं सिन्धुरम् ।
—PR. 22. 33=PV. 154.

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phors).[1] The description of the morning breeze lying within the breast-garments of Cola-damsels, shaking the hair of Kerala-ladies, feeling inclined to embrace the beautiful brows of the women of Lāṭa and befriending the blossomed lotuses, constitutes what is known as Svabhāvokti or Jāti.[2]

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[1] गगन-विपिन-सिंहः कामभूपातपत्रं
निखिल-दिगबलानां कन्दुकं क्रीड़नाय ।
मणिरिव रवि-भर्तुः कार्मणः पार्वणोऽयं
जयति कुमुदबन्धुर्बन्धुरश्चन्द्र-बिम्बः ॥

[2] चोलाङ्गना-कुच-निचोल-तलानुलीनो
द्राक्-केरली-तरल-कुन्तल-कम्पनोत्कः (लोलः) ।
लाटी-ललाट-तल-शोषण-मानसोऽयं
फुल्लारविन्द-वन-बन्धुरुपैति वायुः ॥

—PR. 61. 9=SSS. 27.

MISCELLANEA

NṚIPATI-PARIVRĀJAKA

As I am entrusted with the revision work of Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, I am always delighted when any scholar, young or old, writes a critical note on any one of them, especially if he does so without any *superiority complex*. One such has come to my notice recently. It is entitled 'A Note on Dr. Fleet's "Parivrājaka Mahārājas"' written by V. Lakshminarayana, M.A., and published in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, pp. 69–72. His treatment is certainly an improvement upon that of Fleet's No. 21 called Khōh Copperplate Inscription of the Mahārāja Saṁkshōbha. His translation of the epithets of Suśarman is decidedly an improvement upon that of Fleet. The former has translated it as follows: '. . . . family of the kingly ascetic Suśarman, of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, who knows all philosophy like the great sage Kapila, and who had understood the sublime truth of the fourteen branches of learning.' The translation which I have prepared runs thus: '. . . . born in the family of king-ascetic, Suśarman, who had understood the highest truths of the fourteen Sources of Knowledge, who, like the great sage Kapila, was conversant with all Principles.' Mr. Lakshminarayana is quite right in correcting Fleet's *Kapilasyava* into *Kapilasy-ēva*. That Fleet was wrong is proved by the Betul Copperplate Inscription of the Mahārāja Saṁkshōbha which is published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 287, line 4 of which has doubtless *Kapilasya-ēva*, as is clear from the plate accompanying. Now if Suśarman has been compared to Kapila and Kapila in his Sāṁkhya Philosophy laid down twenty-five *tattavas*, the word *tattava* cannot but be translated as 'Principle'.

Now what does *Nṛipati-Parivrājaka-kula* mean? Mr. Lakshminarayana rightly says that 'It is definitely a religious term used to refer to an ascetic.' Why then is *nṛipati* prefixed to it? How can Suśarman be a Parivrājaka and also a king at the same time? May I in this connection draw his attention to what Lt.-Col. Tod says about the originator of the rulers of Jessulmer: 'The Jogi was well aware of the thief whom he now came to visit; and he confirmed him in the possession of the stolen property, on one condition, that he should become his *chēla* and disciple and, as a token of submission and fidelity, adopt the external symbols of the Jogi. Deoraj assented, and was invested with the Jogi robe of

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ochre. He placed the *moodra* in his ear, the little horn round his neck, and the bandage (*langota*) about his loins; and with the gourd (*cupra*) in his hand, he perambulated the dwellings of his kin, exclaiming, *Aluc*! *Aluc*! The gourd was filled with gold and pearls; the title of *Rao* was abandoned for that of *Rawul*; the *teeka* was made on his forehead; and exacting a pledge that these rites of inauguration should be continued to the latest posterity, the Baba Ritta (for such was the Jogi's name) disappeared.' (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (Lahiri & Co. Ed.), Vol. II, pp. 228-29.)

The above quotation explains how Suśarman could be both a Parivrājaka and a *nṛipati*. But it seems that his descendants were not styled Parivrājaka as was the case with the rulers of Jessulmer who are still called Ravals.

D. R. B.

BUDDHISM, A GREAT FACTOR IN CIVILIZATION

The term Buddhism can be briefly explained as the name of a religion which arose out of the philosophical and ethical teachings of Siddhārta Gautama, the eldest son of King Suddhodana (son of Sīhahanu), who was a chieftain of the Śākya clan in the north of India at Kapilavastu during the fifth century B.C. The name of the Buddha is much familiar and has been discussed times without number regarding his glorious life and activities in the standard books of noted Orientalists. 'With the magic touch of his religion deserts have bloomed into paradise, savages have been saints and useful citizens: wilderness infested with brigands has been crowded with monasteries, hospitals, resting houses for pilgrims and traders, and with thriving agriculture and industry.' This religion produced large and varied literature, sacred and secular, which is especially valuable from the historical point of view, as it represents traditions which are presumably independent of Brahmanism. In short, Buddhist literature, to say in the words of Dr. Winternitz, 'gives us a good survey of the Brahmanical system of sacrifice and valuable hints concerning the connection between the bloody sacrifices, and government and priesthood'.

A great part of the Buddhist literature belongs to the world-literature. Buddhistic fables, anecdotes, stories and legends have not only immigrated from India along with Buddhism into such countries as Ceylon, China, Central Asia, etc., but also have their various parallels in European literature.

From early times philosophy has been at home in India. During the Buddhist period also, philosophy appeared conjointly with religious literature. Likewise, in connection with this religion, the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Pali canon has been made the subject of legal and customary literature. The importance of these legal and customary writings for comparative jurisprudence and sociology is today fully appreciated by eminent jurists and leaders of social science. Centuries before the birth of Christ stupendous storehouse of Buddhist literature has been composed by Buddhist monks in India. We shall not, perhaps, be far wrong if we say that Buddhist literature occupies a unique position in the history of Indian literature which served 'as a mental work of at least three thousand years in speech and script'. Dr. Barnett, extolling this vast Buddhist literature, said that this immensity of Buddhist literature was 'a lasting monument of true religious emotion'. We have already stated that the influence of this Buddhist literature was exercised in ancient days on the mental life of other nations which lie beyond the geographical boundary of India. Thus the Buddhist literature had an amazing influence on the civilization and mental culture of the world.

The Buddha holds the view that everything corporeal is material and therefore subject to destruction. So long as men are bound up by bodily existences with the material world, they are liable to sorrow, decay and death. This is the only reason which induced him to forsake his palace in order to find, if possible, the way for their overcoming. The Buddha with ecstatic delight found the solution. He found that suffering (dukkha) is the primal cause in mankind, which hinders them from enjoying eternal bliss (Paramam sukham). The simple grandeur of inceptive 'Dukkham' has been typified by the Buddha, basing it on the following: (1) Sense of disparity (Dukkha), (2) Origin of the sense of disparity (Dukkha-samudaya), (3) Cessation of the sense of disparity (Dukkhanirodha), and (4) Way leading to the cessation of the sense of disparity (Dukkhanirodhagāminipaṭipadā). These Four Noble Truths (Ārya-satya) involve a certain conception of the nature of the world and of man. The first three of them, practically, 'insist on pain as a fact of existence, on a theory of its cause' and the last is meant for uprooting the perennial origin and cause of pain. The second Noble Truth asserts that pain has a cause which leads to the development of some connected factors. These connected factors have been named by the Buddha as the law of 'Dependent Origination' (Pratītya Samutpāda) or causal genesis. This chain of causal genesis is composed in its stereotyped set of twelve links in a circular form and, in fact, is the kernel of the Buddha's doctrine. Here is the formula of the 'Dependent Origination' or the flow of constant relationship:

(i) From Ignorance arises Karma;
(ii) From Karma arises Consciousness;
(iii) From Consciousness arise Name and Form;
(iv) From Name and Form arise the Six Organs of Sense;
(v) From the Six Organs of Sense arises Contact;
(vi) From Contact arises Sensation (feeling);
(vii) From Sensation (feeling) arises Desire;
(viii) From Desire arises Grasping;
(ix) From Grasping arises Becoming or the Process of Existence;
(x) From Becoming arises Rebirth;
(xi) From Rebirth arise Old Age, Death, Decay, Sorrow, Misery, Grief and Despair;
(xii) Old Age, Death, etc. in turn again arrive at the state of Ignorance which 'is the state of not-knowing, of sleep'.

Now, on the complete fading out (uprooting) or suppression of each of these factors depends the cessation of the corresponding one. The Buddha formulated that this method of suppression, rather the process of uprooting could be adopted by following the 'Noble Eightfold Path' (ariya aṭṭhaṅgika maggo) which can briefly be summed up as follows:—

(i) Right faith, i.e. clear perception of the situation that is going to arise (sammādiṭṭhi).
(ii) Right mindedness, i.e. a pure state of mind free from ill-will and lust (sammā saṅkappa).
(iii) Right speech, i.e. speaking the truth (sammā vācā).
(iv) Right actions (bodily), i.e. abstaining from intentional killing (sammā kammantā).
(v) Right livelihood, i.e. earning a living which does not cause harm to other beings (sammā ājīva).
(vi) Right effort, i.e. the effort to overcome bad habits and to develop good ones (sammā vāyāmo).
(vii) Right recollection, i.e. to exercise mental clearness in whatever we are doing (sammā sati).
(viii) Right concentration, i.e. concentration of mind to realize the highest wisdom (sammā samādhi).

This Holy Eight-linked Track is the only way pointed out by the Buddha for escape from the misery of existence (bhava) and desire (tanhā) and, also, is the path of inward self-culture, of inward progress.

We find that the correct justification of the statement of the Buddha that men are following in this world false views (micchā-diṭṭhi) and are occupied by false pursuits lies in the true meaning

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of 'Dukkham'. Brewster asserts, 'In no religion is this fundamental truth of Dukkha so logically understood and set forth as in the Buddhadhamma where it is called The First Noble Truth.' To combat this ever-present 'Dukkham' in mankind the Buddha holds out the alluring vision of Nirvāṇa (emancipation) which alone bursts forth into 'Nibbānam sukham' (the happiness of final emancipation) and brings forth along with it the eternal joy of harped concordance. Hence the Buddha declared two kinds of happiness, that of the worlding (kāma sukha) which is the 'undiscorded state of consciousness' and which causes greed, hatred and delusion to germinate; on the other hand, there is also 'higher pleasure' (pīti sukha) which is free from any wrongly-disposed pleasure and whose emergence lies in the subduing of passion, and which can be enjoyed in a state of purity. The Buddha persuaded us in the suppression of the egoistic conception, self-flattering conceit, which (suppression) truly entitles us to enjoy the highest happiness, i.e. heavenly bliss. This suppression of 'I am' (aham) can only be done on the extinction of tanhā (craving, desire) and by practising the four stages of Brahma Vihāra, i.e. (i) Benevolence (*mettā*), (ii) Compassion (*karuṇā*), (iii) Sympathy (*muditā*), and (iv) Equanimity or Detachment (*upekkhā*) towards all sentient creatures.

Buddhism inspires us to practise the idea of the following oft-quoted aphorism:—

'What higher aim a man can attain
Than to conquer over human pain.'

Buddhism is undoubtedly a universal religion based on the equality of rights and privileges of mankind. It was the inspiration of Lord Buddha's religion that made a monarch like Aśoka so great, who lived the life of a humble beggar for the good of his subjects. The caste system and social prejudices have no place in Buddhism.

The teachings of the Buddha not only purify our moral transgressions but also uphold the moral and intellectual standard of ourselves and serve as a torch-bearer towards greater humanity. Rightly it has been opined by Sir Charles Eliot that Buddhism 'aimed not at founding a sect but at including all the world as lay believers of easy terms'.

The Buddhist sculpture at Ajāntā, Ellorā, Nāsik, Nālanda, Amarāvātī, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa bear ample testimony to the superfine workmanship of the greatest sculptors of the world.

Practically speaking, there is no truth superior to this:

'Yathā daṇḍena gopālo gāvo pāceti gocaram
evam jarā ca maccu ca āyum pācenti pāṇinaṃ.'

(As the cowboy directs the cow towards the pasture land by his stick, likewise old age and death direct (govern) human beings.) And thus the Master suggested the best remedy of escaping from these by saying:

'Nibbāṇam paramaṃ sukhaṃ
Sampassam vipulaṃ sukhaṃ.'

Here Nibbāṇa (Nirvāṇa) is held out as the happiest prospect of mankind. It is characterized as the tranquil state of mind which is attained or experienced when the aspirant is entirely free from passion, attachment, distemper, hatred, delusion, all kinds of pain and all sense of disparity and when he feels the fulness of life in contentment, health and self-confidence—in short, in 'Bliss'.

The victory of human civilization for the achievement of permanent peace and happiness of the world will be complete when the spiritual influence of Buddhism will bring about a gradual elimination of the brute force.

SATADAL KUMAR KAR.

CAṆḌASENA OF KAUMUDĪMAHOTSAVA

I

The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal in his article *Historical Data in the Drama of Kaumudīmahotsava* (*An. Bhand. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XII, pp. 50ff.) has tried to identify Chaṇḍasena of the above drama with the historical figure Chandragupta, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, and asserts with confidence that 'this Caṇḍa-sena was no other than the King who assumed the name of Candra-Gupta after his grandfather's name (Gupta)' and adds that 'Candragupta, was his regnal name and *Caṇḍa-Sena* was the original name . . . and that it seemed that 'Candra dropped *sena* and adopted *Gupta* to give himself a dynastic title'. In support of this change in the name he refers us to the case of Vasanta-Sēna and Vasantadēva which was the name of the same king (*Hist. of Ind.*, etc., pp. 113-14, n. 4) and that of Dahrasena who on his coins adopts the style Dahragaṇa (*C.A.D.*, p. clxiv). Based on the facts furnished by *Kaumudīmahotsava*, Jayaswal has modified his view somewhat in the pages of his *History of India*, etc., pp. 113–18. His view has been accepted by some but not by others. The late Prof. Winternitz, e.g., in his learned article *Historical Dramas in Indian Literature* contributed to the *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume* (pp. 359–62) voices the view of the opponents of Jayaswal by saying 'It is difficult to see how the worthy Chandragupta I, whose father Ghatotkaca was already king of Magadha, ruling from Pāṭaliputra, who was the third king of the Gupta line and the first Mahārājādhirāja of the dynasty, could be possibly identical with the cursed Caṇḍasena, the traitor and usurper', p. 362.

But another scholar, Prof. Daśaratha Sharma, has tried to refute the view of Winternitz in his article *Prof. Winternitz on the Kaumudīmahotsava* (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 275). In this connection he refers us to Jayaswal's *History of India* and to the inscriptions of Caṇḍasāti, the Sātavāhana king, published in *E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 317, coins of Sri Candra sāti and to *Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (321). In the first place the inscription of Caṇḍasāti does not support Prof. Sharma, because here the careful scholar, H. Krishna Śāstrī, gives the Sanskrit form of Caṃḍasāti as Caṇḍasvāti and remarks that 'on a second coin figured in G.P.I. in Pl. VI of the coins of the Andhra dynasty by Rapson the reading *Chaṁdasāt(a)si* with an *anusvāra* marked to the left of *c* as in the Kodavali rock inscription'. As a matter of fact we have coins not only of Caḍasāti but also of Cadasāti. Caḍasāti is obviously Chaṇḍasvāti and Cadasvāti is Chandrasvāti. It is not therefore intelligible how Chaṃda can become *Chaṇḍa* in Prākrit as Jayaswal and Sharma seem to think.

However that may be, the above evidence does not help us in solving the problem as in the text of *Kaumudīmahotsava* the name appears in the Sanskrit text as *Chaṇḍa* and not *Chandra*. The opening verse of Act IV of this drama, which refers to the hero both in the Prākrit and Sanskrit texts, has 'Chandabba' 'चंदंव्व' transliterated into Sanskrit as 'Chandra=iva' 'चन्द्र इव'. And later on wherever the hero is mentioned, his name appears as 'Chaṇḍasena' in Sanskrit. So it is difficult to show that 'Chaṇḍa' of this drama is equivalent to 'Chandra'.

The Gupta inscriptions describe Samudragupta as 'the son of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta I and the daughter's son of Lichchhavi, begotten on the Mahādevī Kumāradevī', from which it was presumed that Chandragupta I made an alliance with the Lichchhavis through marriage. But our present drama describes Chaṇḍasena as being adopted by Sundaravarman as a poison tree owing to his inability to know his nature and is described as coming from a low caste, viz. Kāraskaras. He is also described as being treacherous to his father and of having formed an alliance (*Sambandham*) with the Lichchhavis who are termed Mlecchas by the dramatist. But it is not known whether the alliance was through marriage or through some other sources. It is clear from the words of Vardhamānaka ‘कुत्रेदृग्वर्णस्य राजश्री’ ‘whence is royalty to one of such a caste?’ that the Kāraskaras were regarded as very low caste people unfit to be kings and the Dharmaśāstras describe them as a low community to whom the Aryas should not go and on return from whom they should perform a ceremony of purification (Baudhāyana Dh.S., I. i. 32). If such was the social status of the Kāraskaras, it is difficult to see how Sundaravarman could adopt him, according to the laws of Dharmaśāstras, as his son with a view to install him as his heir-apparent. Neither the Gupta inscriptions nor the pages of Indian history have anything to show that Chandragupta I was an adopted son and also came from a low family. The inscriptions describe him as the son of Mahārājā Ghatotkacha. The name of Sundaravarman does not come in this context.

If the above line of reasoning has any force, it is not possible to identify Chandragupta I, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, with the ‘Chaṇḍasena’ of the present drama.

S. R. S.

REVIEWS

AṬṬHASĀLINĪ, commentary on *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, the First Book of the Abhidhammapiṭaka of the Buddhists of the Theravāda School, edited in Devanāgarī characters by P. V. Bapat, M.A., Ph.D., and R. D. Vadekar, M.A. Bhandarkar Oriental Series, No. 2. Poona, 1942. Demy 8vo. Pages 404.

This is indeed the first critical and only edition of a highly important Pali commentary abounding in psycho-ethical disquisitions which we owe to joint labours of Dr. Bapat and his collaborator Mr. Vadekar. The Pali Text Society edition, as a pioneer work, needed emendation here and there. The present editors may be congratulated on the success in bringing out an edition which is critically prepared and, on the whole, faultless. This is not the first time that Dr. Bapat has proved his ability as a thorough-going and painstaking editor of Pali texts in Devanāgarī characters.

I should, however, like to draw attention of the editors to certain omissions and commissions, chiefly in their otherwise informative introduction.

It would seem that the spelling of the title of the commentary as *Aṭṭhasālinī*, in preference to *Atthasālinī* is not happy. We may call a commentary an *aṭṭhakathā*, but to call it an *atthavaṇṇanā* we must prefer *attha* to *aṭṭha*. In Pali, we say *atthāya*, and not *aṭṭhāya*; *Sāratthappakāsinī*, and not *Sāraṭṭhappakāsinī*. The spelling *aṭṭha* is likely to be confounded with Sk. *aṣṭa*. I am aware of the fact that relative positions of *aṭṭha* and *attha* are reversed in *aṭṭhavaṇṇanā* and *Atthasālinī* in the P.T.S. edition (p. 429), precisely as in *atthavaṇṇanā* and *Aṭṭhasālinī* in the present edition (pp. 336-37). We may note that in the body of the Samantapāsādikā, both the P.T.S. (i, p. 150) and Siamese (i, p. 165) editions, the commentary is referred to under the title of *Atthasālinī*.

In the list of works consulted one sadly misses Dr. B. C. Law's *The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa*, 1923 and *History of Pali Literature*, 1933, Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature* (English Translation), Vol. II, and Mr. Charan Das Chatterjee's article—*Numismatic Data from Pali Literature*, published in Dr. B. C. Law's *Buddhistic Studies*.

The editors ought to have known that the credit for the utilisation of the information supplied by Buddhaghosa in his Vinaya-commentary regarding the debasement of the Rudradāmaka coins was due to none but Mr. Charan Das Chatterjee who, besides being a sound Pali scholar, commands a sound knowledge of early Indian numismatics and history.

As for the historical bearing of the *karaṇa* or *caraṇa citta* on the art of painting and Indian sculpture, it was for the first time discussed by me in my *History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy* (p. 110) long before the publication of Pe Maung Tin's English translation of the *Atthasālinī*. The subject was subsequently discussed at length by me in an article published in the *Calcutta Review*, June, 1927, pp. 364–66, and noticed by Dr. Stella Kramrisch in the introduction to her translation of the *Vishṇudharmottara*, 1928, p. 7. It was finally discussed in my Barhut, Bk. III.

The editors state at p. xxxiii of their introduction, 'That *Aṭṭhasālinī* could have been composed in India before Buddhaghosa wrote his *Visuddhimagga* is impossible, for, as has been pointed out by Prof. D. Kosambi . . . . . , *Aṭṭhasālinī* refers to the *Visuddhimagga* in the very introductory stanzas.' I am sure they will not think it fair at all to Dr. B. C. Law who had pointed that out long long ago and discussed the question in his work on Buddhaghosa, p. 70. After going through Law's *Buddha-*

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ghosa and the introduction to *A Manual of Buddhist Psychological Ethics* by Mrs. Rhys Davids, much of the useful information contained in their introduction is likely to appear as a thrice-told tale.

In connection with their observations regarding the *Khuddakapāṭha*, the editors would have certainly profited by Dr. Law's considered opinion in his *History of Pali Literature*, I, p. 7.

I would like to briefly discuss the interesting issue raised by the editors with regard to the authorship of the *Atthasālinī* as we now have it before I conclude this review.

The extant *Atthasālinī* was written at the instance of Bhikkhu Buddhaghosa, undoubtedly a contemporary Buddhist monk of Ceylon of sterling qualities of head and heart (as pointed out by me in the *Indian Culture*).

Visuddhācārasīlena nipuṇāmalabuddhinā |
bhikkhunā Buddhaghosena sakkaccam abhiyācito ||

From the introductory stanzas, it is clear that the author of the *Atthasālinī*, like that of other commentaries ascribed to Buddhaghosa Āchariya, was a man from outside, and not a Sinhalese by his nationality. The task he set himself to carry out was mainly to rewrite the available commentary in the Sinhalese in the faultless diction of Pali:

Apanetvā tato bhāsaṃ Tambapaṇṇi-nivāsinaṃ |
āropayitvā niddosaṃ bhāsaṃ tantinayānugaṃ ||

References in the extant Vinaya-commentary, *Samantapāsādikā*, to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* which is the well-known commentary of Buddhaghosa on the Dīgha-nikāya, the *Papañcasūdanī* which is the commentary on the Majjhima-nikāya and the *Atthasālinī* which is the commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaha* or *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* need not worry us, as the editors themselves admit that these were probably interpolations. That these are so may be seen at once from the fact that in one and the same context the P.T.S. edition (p. 172) refers to the *Papañcasūdanī* and the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, while the Siamese edition (i, p. 165) refers to the *Papañcasūdanī* and the *Atthasālinī*. The usual peg on which the interpolations hang is practically the same everywhere: *Idha pana vuccamānā Vinaya-nidānaṃ atibhāriyaṃ karotīti na vuttā, atthikehi* . . .

'If it be treated here, it will make the Vinaya context disproportionately heavy. So it is not treated. Those who need it (may know it in the light of . . . .).'

The points of agreement between the *Atthasālinī* and the *Visuddhimagga* are overwhelmingly large as compared with the points of difference, and the discrepancies noted by the editors (pp. xxxv–xxxix) are, more or less, matters of conciseness or detail, and are not such as to justify the attribution of the work to an author other than Buddhaghosa. The discrepancies may have been due to these two reasons: (i) the Sinhalese authorities on which the works were based, and (ii) the existence of different recensions, viz. the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri. The Buddhist works that were taken by Fā Hien from Ceylon were evidently those he could obtain from the Abhayagiri Monastery.

I find that the stanzas cited by Buddhaghosa from the Dīpavaṃsa show a difference in language, here and there, from those in the present text edited by Oldenberg, e.g.:

Samantapāsādikā, i, p. 63:

Suvaṇṇabhūmiṃ gantvāna Sonuttarā mahiddhikā |
pisāce niddamitvāna Brahmajālam adesayun ti ||

The same in Oldenberg's text, VIII, 12, reads:

> *Suvaṇṇabhūmiṃ gantvāna Sonuttarā mahiddhikā* |
> *niddhametvā pisācagaṇe mocesi bandhanā bahu* ||

The stanzas in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, xii, 44-45, present a somewhat different story:

> *Saddhiṃ Uttaratherena Soṇatthero mahiddhiko* |
> *Suvaṇṇabhūmiṃ agamā, tasmiṃ tu samaye pana* ||
> *jāte jāte rājagehe dārake ruddarakkhasī* |
> *samuddato nikkhamitvā bhakkhayitvāna gacchati* ||

The discrepancies should be noted by all means, but not unduly stressed. To consider, for example, the discrepancy No. 23, noted by the editors:

In the *Atthasālinī* a certain statement is made on the basis of the *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*, according to the *Atthasālinī-yojanā*, while in the *Visuddhimagga* the statement is rejected as not being compatible with Buddhaghosa's interpretation.

I would say, here is no discrepancy in the position of Buddhaghosa himself. In the *Visuddhimagga* Buddhaghosa discards four *anulomas* in connection with the ñāna not only beyond the *Gotrabhū* stage but also beyond that of *Sotāpattimagga*. With reference to the *Gotrabhū* stage, the statements show an agreement, and the illustration, too, is the same: *Eko kira cakkhumā puriso*, etc. In the *Atthasālinī*, sec. 508, we are told: *Tatra mahāpaññamandapaññānaṃ vasena akathetvā majjhimapaññassa vasena kathetabbaṃ*. This is precisely the standpoint from which the position of the *Gotrabhū* has been stated and illustrated in the same way and almost in the same language in both the works.

Let it not, however, be understood that I am undervaluing the critical apparatus employed by the editors. Far from it. I mean just to sound caution against overstressing the importance of the variations detected.

B. M. Barua.

MIGRATION OF PAPER FROM CHINA TO INDIA, by P. K. Gode, M.A.

This booklet presents a few broad data showing how paper was first invented in China by Ts'ai Lun in 105 A.D. and thence introduced into India where many centuries later it gradually developed as an indigenous industry. Paper seems to have been known to Indian priests and laymen in the seventh century A.D., when I-tsing came. It was then a rare thing used for religious purposes occasionally. Its widespread use or its manufacture on Indian soil was delayed owing to the usual custom of writing on *bhūrja* and palm leaves. From A.D. 1300 onwards paper-making seems to have begun in India and so the Chinese embassy to Bengal could find the province manufacturing paper in 1406 A.D. This short and interesting account of the birth of paper elsewhere and its growth in India may serve as an incentive to further study of the subject.

T. N. Chakravartty.

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THE COMMISSIONERS AT BITHUR (1818–51)

By PRATUL C. GUPTA

In 1818 the Maratha War came to an end. The Peshwa Baji Rao II was taken to Bithur where he lived as a pensioner of the British Government. A Commissioner was appointed, who was entrusted with the care of the ex-Peshwa and his adherents. During the period of thirty-two years Baji Rao lived at Bithur, there were four permanent officers holding this post. They were John Low, E. J. Johnson, William Cooke and James Manson. When the Commissioner went on leave or there was delay in appointing a new one, it was the practice to requisition the services of an officer from Cawnpore or sometimes the Magistrate of Cawnpore carried on the Commissioner's duties in addition to his own. Low, who accompanied the ex-Peshwa to Bithur, was appointed the first Commissioner. He worked till January 1822 and then went on leave for reasons of health. Captain Blacker officiated for about one year, and from the beginning of 1823 Captain Johnson succeeded him as the acting Commissioner. Low returned in September 1825, but was almost immediately transferred to Jaipur. Johnson continued as the acting Commissioner till 15th January, 1826, when he delivered over the charge to Grote, the Magistrate of Cawnpore.[1] Johnson again took charge on 3rd May and on the 20th June was appointed to the situation of the Commissioner. On 1st November, 1828, Johnson took leave for about a month.[2] It was considered unnecessary that the Magistrate of Cawnpore should be appointed formally as the acting Commissioner for such a short period, but was requested 'to afford his advice and assistance', if required by the ex-Peshwa during the Commissioner's absence.[3] Johnson does not seem to have returned to Bithur, and on 15th January, 1829, Bacon the Magistrate also went on leave leaving the management of the Commissioner's office to Oldfield, the Judge of Cawnpore.[4] These temporary arrangements did not prove very successful. The Peshwa's Dewan, Ramchandra Pant, pressed the Government for the nomination of a successor to Johnson and Oldfield also wrote to the Political Department on 31st January that he was 'quite unable to attend in person' at Bithur, and that the duties of the

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[1] Pol. Pro., 7 April, 1826 (45), Imperial Record Department.

[2] Pol. Pro., 26 May, 1826 (58) and 7 July, 1826 (40).

[3] Pol. Pro., 3 Oct., 1828 (16).

[4] Pol. Pro., 26 Dec., 1828 (35), (36).

Commissioner could not be conducted properly unless the Commissioner resided 'at the spot'.[1] Bacon's return put an end to Oldfield's difficulties. In June 1829 Bacon was transferred from Cawnpore, and on 3rd June the charge of the Commissioner was taken up by his successor Irwin.[2] On 16th January, 1830, William Percy Cooke was appointed as Commissioner but he died in July next year.[3] Thompson, the Magistrate of Cawnpore, took over the charge for a few days. From 6th August, 1831, Major Faithful officiated as the Commissioner till the appointment of Manson in November 1831. Manson was the fourth and the last Commissioner. He continued till Baji Rao's death in 1851, when the office was abolished.[4]

The Commissioner maintained a modest establishment. In the earlier days there was an Assistant Commissioner. John Low's brother William Low acted as his assistant till 1820. He was then succeeded by Captain Blacker. When Low was transferred the post of the Assistant Commissioner seems to have been abolished. The Commissioner's staff consisted of an English writer, a treasurer and Maratha Pandit and a Munshi for Persian correspondence. It is interesting to note that the English writer's post in 1829 was held by a Bengali named Nabakishen Mitra.[5] He was one of those English-speaking Bengalis who in those days followed the progress of the Company's arms in Northern India. Nabakishen's career, however, would not read very edifying. Taking advantage of Irwin's inexperience, he embezzled one thousand rupees from the Commissioner's office and fled. He was subsequently arrested and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment by the Commissioner of Circuit.[6] Four other writers are mentioned in the record of the Commissioners. Their names and their scale of pay suggest that they were Eurasians. In 1824 the post was occupied by Dacosta.[7] During Cooke's period of service one Mosely was appointed as the writer. But on account of some malpractices he was forced to resign.[8] The Commissioner did not seem to have any luck with his writers. MacCarty who was probably the next choice also proved unfortunate. He was implicated in an intrigue for establishing clandestine intercourse with Baji Rao's agent and consequently was dismissed from service.[1] Martindell, who was the English writer at the time of Baji Rao's death, was highly spoken of by the Commissioner. He had worked there for more than eight years, and when the Commissioner's office was abolished, he was given a job in the Magistrate's office at Cawnpore.[2]

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[1] Pol. Pro., 25 Sept., 1829 (48).
[2] Pol. Pro., 1 May, 1829 (53) and Pol. Pro., 19 June, 1829 (79).
[3] Pol. Pro., 29 January, 1830 (41) and Pol. Pro., 29 July, 1830 (111).
[4] Pol. Pro., 2 September, 1831 (123) and Pol. Pro., 18 Nov., 1831 (85).
[5] Pol. Pro., 3 Dec., 1832 (114).
[6] Pol. Pro., 19 Feb., 1830 (53) and Pol. Cons., 3 Dec., 1832 (115).
[7] Pol. Pro., 7 May, 1824 (36).
[8] Pol. Pro., 23 May, 1836 (159).

In the earlier days there was a medical officer attached to the Commissioner's office. But in 1828 he was removed[3] probably for economic reasons and there was no proper medical establishment at Bithur. In October 1828, the Governor-General decided, as a temporary measure, the Civil Surgeon at Cawnpore should 'afford medical assistance' to the Commissioner and his establishment as far as might be 'practicable consisting with his other duties'. He was granted an allowance of one hundred rupees a month.[4]

It seems that a practice had grown up of regarding the Civil Surgeon as the medical officer 'of Maharajah Bajee Rao's Camp' also.[5] But the Governor-General disliked this practice, and the Commissioner was informed that the Government did not 'profess to furnish medical assistance, gratuitously, to the Maharajah and his followers, and that if desirous of obtaining the advice and attendance of a medical officer, they must make their own arrangements'.[6] In 1830 an application was made to the Governor-General for the 'entertainment of a native doctor for the guard and establishment attached to the Commissioner'.[7] A 'native doctor' was appointed, but in 1837 he got himself implicated in a plot to poison the Commissioner and Baji Rao's Dewan Ramchandra.[8]

The Commissioner's means of protection were two Rissalas of irregular horse and a party of sepoys. The duties of the mounted escort consisted chiefly in escorting the treasure required for payment to Baji Rao every month, and in 'furnishing several small guards about the camp'. In 1823, after some discussion, the Government decided that 'it would not be expedient to make any reduction of the strength of that party'.[9] But next year the Government changed its mind and one of the Rissalas was ordered to return to its headquarter.[10] Five years later the remaining Rissala of irregular horse was withdrawn.[11] As this step had been taken probably solely on financial grounds no arrangement was made 'to replace them with any other troops', but the Commissioner was directed to inform the Government should any difficulty arise out of it.[1] The withdrawal of the horse proved very inconvenient, and the Commissioner was compelled to request 'the favour of a few sowers from Baji Rao' for attending on him on ceremonial occasions and for bringing the dawk from Cawnpore.[2] In February 1830, Cooke prayed for a 'small party of horse' to be posted at Bithur in addition to the company of infantry.[3] The same request was repeated by Major Faithful next year when he applied for a party of thirty irregular horse.[4] In 1833 Major Manson made the prayer and considered that 'a party of 25/30 irregular horse would at all times' be useful at Bithur.[5] Apart from the inconvenience, it was pointed out by the Commissioners that Baji Rao might impute a 'personal disrespect involved in the removal of the horse for a period of upwards of ten years'[6]; and that in the case of any disturbance he had 'not a single horseman on whose fidelity he could depend'.[7] The Governor-General, however, saw no reason to provide a mounted escort at Bithur. He considered that Baji Rao's own troops should be deemed sufficient for his own protection and that it lay in the Commissioner's power to 'recommend His Highness to employ persons' whom he could trust.[8]

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[1] Pol. Pro., 4 April, 1838 (82).

[2] For. Cons., 3 Oct., 1851 (?), (9), and Pol. Cons., 3 Oct., 1851 (8).

[3] Pol. Pro., 18 July, 1828 (44).

[4] Pol. Pro., 17 Oct., 1828 (42).

[5] Pol. Pro., 5 March, 1830 (84).

[6] Pol. Pro., 5 March, 1830 (85).

[7] Pol. Pro., 16 April, 1830 (115).

[8] Pol. Pro., 4 April, 1838 (82).

[9] Pol. Pro., 4 July, 1823 (45).

[10] Pol. Pro., 7 May, 1824 (35).

[11] Pol. Pro., 24 July, 1829 (36).

The Commissioner's establishment did not cost the Government much. But during Lord Bentinck's financial reforms drastic cuts were made and the salary of the staff reduced. The Commissioner's salary and military pay were clipped off and a saving was made to the amount of Rs.689-4as. every month.[9] When Manson succeeded Cooke in 1831 he was receiving only one thousand rupees as his monthly salary.[10] On being asked if the office of the treasurer might be abolished or if any reduction in the establishment might be made, Johnson, who was then the Commissioner, replied that he could not 'reduce it to any considerable extent without compromising in some degree its efficiency' and prayed that he might be allowed to retain the post of the treasurer. The Commissioner explained that he was almost hourly 'receiving written communications not only from the Maharajah, but from his adherents', and the treasurer and Pandit was the only person who could 'read, write and speak the Maratha language'.[11] An arrangement was finally arrived at. The joint office of the treasurer and Maratha

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[1] Pol. Pro., 24 July, 1829 (37).

[2] Pol. Pro., 5 March, 1830 (64).

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Pol. Pro., 9 Dec., 1831 (41).

[5] Pol. Pro., 21 Nov., 1833 (103).

[6] Pol. Pro., 9 Dec., 1831 (40).

[7] Pol. Pro., 21 Nov., 1833 (103).

[8] Pol. Pro., 21 Nov., 1833 (104).

[9] Pol. Pro., 19 April, 1843 (163).

[10] Pol. Pro., 26 May, 1849 (52).

[11] Pol. Pro., 27 June, 1828 (96), (97) and Pol. Pro., 1 Aug., 1828 (43).

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Pandit with its monthly salary of Rs.200 was abolished, but the same person was retained as the Maratha Pandit on a salary of one hundred rupees a month. The Governor-General felt that there was 'no sufficient occasion for the services of a Persian Munshi at Rupees Forty per mensem', and consequently the post was ordered to be abolished.[1] Ten rupees were deducted from the pay of the Jamadar of the harkara and six harkaras with a pay of six rupees each were struck off.[2] In all, a monthly saving of eight hundred and thirty-five rupees and four annas was effected. In 1843 further retrenchments were projected. But the Commissioner replied that it did not appear to him 'feasible to effect any further reduction', after the revision it underwent during Lord Bentinck's administration.[3] So no further reduction appears to have been made. On the other hand, the post of the Munshi probably abolished in 1828 was revived during Manson's term of office. At the time of Baji Rao's death there was one Munshi Ashik Ali attached to the Commissioner's office, and used to draw a salary of forty rupees a month.[4]

It was the Commissioner's chief duty to keep watch over the ex-Peshwa, but he was also expected to look after the welfare of the numerous Marathas at Bithur with as little interference as possible. The first Commissioner appointed at Bithur was a very happy choice. Low had a way with, and he managed to soothe the feelings of Baji Rao and successfully tided over the most difficult period of Baji Rao's life in retirement. It probably took a long time to be reconciled to his change of fortune, but Low's sympathy and tact helped a great deal. A man with less imagination would have found a more difficult and stubborn Peshwa to deal with. In spite of conflicting interests a bond of friendship grew up between the two. A few years after Low had left Bithur he saw Baji Rao again. 'He even shed tears.' Low wrote about this meeting to his mother, and 'when taking leave . . . . he prayed the Supreme Being to make me a Bramin in the next change in this world', so that he should 'in due time be absorbed in the Deity'.[5] One reads with amusement how Baji Rao's show of affection sometimes caused a great deal of embarrassment to the Commissioners. According to the regulations of the Government all presents offered to the Commissioners were not to be retained by them but passed to the credit of the Company. Baji Rao insisted in 1825 that he would present a Khilat worth four or five thousand rupees to 'Captain Low as a private friend' which he was 'to keep as his own property'. Low was then about to proceed to Jaipur. As a way out of the difficulty he suggested that the acting Commissioner should defer 'announcing the refusal of the Government', until he should be permanently appointed at Jaipur.[1] When Dewan Ramchandra also was 'extremely desirous' that Low should accept a token of friendship from him, Low 'settled' it by exchanging his gold watch for that of the Dewan.[2] Similar attempt was made to present a Khilat to Major Blacker.[3] It was Cooke who was prevailed upon to keep some presents from Ramchandra pending the reply of the Government, and was rebuked by the Governor-General for his conduct.[4] As a token of friendship of the British Government a practice had grown up of making small present to Baji Rao's servants on the occasion of the principal festivals of the year. A memorandum of the year 1827 gives the following table:—

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[1] Pol. Pro., 1 Aug., 1828 (44).

[2] Pol. Pro., 19 April, 1843 (163).

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Pol. Pro., 3 Oct., 1851 (8).

[5] Low, Fifty Years with John Company, p. 1.

	Rs.
Tilsankranti	75
Vasant Panchami	50
Holi	90
Dussera	95
Dewali	80
Christmas	175

In all, five hundred and sixty-five rupees were spent annually.[5] During Lord Bentinck's administration these expenses were considered unnecessary, and the Commissioner was informed that there was 'no sufficient reason for continuing' this practice.[6]

Did Baji Rao ever give up all hopes of restoration? It is difficult to answer. But in the course of his stay at Bithur his fetters appeared less irksome to him and he became less dangerous to the British. During Baji Rao's stay at Bithur many attempts to free the ex-Peshwa or transmit messages from Bithur to the South are reported. In the earlier period they were made by the people of Maharashtra, but later on one notices a change. People other than the Marathas also tried their hands in intrigues. It was not easy for the Commissioner to find out what their real objects were. Many of them were designing and dishonest persons traded on the credulousness of Baji Rao's mind. To the end of his life Baji Rao cherished a strong desire to see Maharashtra once again; and on one occasion expressed a hope that he might be taken back to Poona and allowed to stay on the same condition as the Emperor in Delhi.

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[1] Foreign Miscellaneous letter dated 29 Oct., 1825, pages 5–14.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Pol. Pro., March 1830. Pol. Pro., April 1830 (55).

[5] Pol. Cons., 12 Oct., 1827 (43).

[6] Pol. Cons., 12 Oct., 1827 (44).

The truth is that Baji Rao had lived too long. One wonders how Malcolm would have felt when he was arguing with the Governor-General for a liberal pension on the Peshwa had he known that he would survive another thirty-three years. The former Peshwa would lose his glamour some day. He was a prize captive in 1818, but in 1850 he was a man of little importance. The Commissioners found him at times somewhat difficult. Baji Rao had no scruple in asking for little favours, but on occasions when he probably felt that his importance was being diminished insisted on being treated as still the Chief of the Marathas. He put the Government into embarrassment by offering to send Khilat to his friends and relations from Bithur. When Lord Bentinck wrote to him in 1831 he wanted to be addressed as the Pant Pradhan.[1] He was anxious to meet Lord Auckland during his tour in upper provinces, but on such terms as if he was 'still seated on the guddee at Poona'. The Government did not see their way to grant his requests, and the Dewan was informed that 'such a proposal was quite out of the question'.[2] It is a significant fact that after Low and Blacker other Commissioners were no longer brilliant men. The Government perhaps took little trouble in selecting an officer for the post. The ex-Peshwa as well as the Commissioners were losing importance. The Commissioners after Blacker are completely forgotten by posterity.

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[1] Pol. Pro., 29 April, 1831 (52).

[2] Pol. Pro., 4 April, 1838 (82).

SOVEREIGNTY IN EARLY MUSLIM INDIA (1210-36 A.D.)

By S. K. BANERJEE

During the last year of his reign, Sultān Qutbuddīn Aibak had stayed in Lahore and he died there from an accident in early November, 1210 A.D. Ārām Shāh, his reputed son, was present there. The nobles of Lahore felt whether Ārām was actually Qutbuddīn Aibak's son or no, he was their best refuge for the preservation of tranquillity in the kingdom; so they proclaimed him king under the title of Sultān Ārām Shāh. The much-hoped-for tranquillity was preserved in Lahore but some of the other parts of the empire, Bengal and Sindh in particular declared independence under Hisāmuddīn Iwaz and Nāsiruddīn Qabacha respectively. The first few weeks of the new reign did not inspire much confidence and most of the nobles of Delhi, who had not relished the late change of capital from Delhi to Lahore, agreed with the most important person of the State, Ali Ismail, who held the double posts of the Commander-in-Chief and Lord Chief Justice (*Amīr-i-dād*), invited Iltutmish from Badāūn. Iltutmish hurried from his fief, reached Delhi and was enthroned as Sultān Shamsudduniyawaddīn Iltutmish Abul Muzaffar.

Since Ārām Shāh yet lived, for the moment there were two Sultāns in the same kingdom. The inhabitants of Delhi were not wholly united in Iltutmish's cause and some of the dissenters gave Ārām Shāh the news of Iltutmish's enthronement. Ārām Shāh hurried eastward. The Muizī and Qutbī nobles from the province out of regard for their late Sultān Qutbuddīn, proceeded to render aid to Ārām Shāh and probably if the number of soldiers on either side be considered, Ārām Shāh had a larger army. A big battle took place in the vicinity of Delhi in which Iltutmish's ability enabled him to win a complete victory. Ārām Shāh was defeated, captured and done away with.

Iltutmish's birth and education.

Iltutmish was a self-made man and had risen from the ranks. It is true that he was nobly born and that his father, Īlam Khān, was the chief of the Ilbarī tribe of Turkistan; but a misfortune had befallen him in his childhood; for when young he became an object of envy to his brethren owing to 'his comeliness, intelligence and goodness to a degree'. They sold him to a merchant of Bokhārā who in his turn sold him to a kinsman of the Sadr Jahān of the place. While he stayed with the family, 'the most beneficent of that family used to nourish him in the hall of his kindness, like his own children in infancy'. It may be presumed the Sadr Jahān's kinsman had given Iltutmish the liberal education as he had done with his own children; for Minhāj writes about Iltutmish,

دران ایام ترکبچه ...... قابلتر ازو بغزنین نرسیده بود *

Translation—

In those days a Turkī lad abler than him (Iltutmish) had not reached Ghaznīn.

When he was finally sold to Qutbuddīn, the latter, 'discerning within him proofs of rectitude and integrity both in movements and at rest, outwardly as well as inwardly, by the light thereof, advanced him from one position to another until he raised him to the office of *Amīr-i-Shikār*'. Subsequently he became successively governor of Gwalior, Baran and Badāūn.

Iltutmish as soldier.

Before proceeding with Iltutmish as a sovereign, we may consider the reasons that led to Iltutmish's success against Ārām Shāh. Firstly, Iltutmish's fame as soldier had helped him. Years ago, when Muhammad Ghuri was defeated at the battle of Andkhūī in 1205 A.D., the Khokars rose in the Punjab, Qutbuddīn hurried to his master's succour and with Qutbuddīn was his slave with his Badāūn contingent. The conflict has been thus described by Minhāj-i-Sirāj:

در وقت هیجا و هنگام غذا سلطان شمس الدین طاب ثره بابر گستوان درمیان آب جیلم که آن جماعت بدان پناه ساخته بودند در راند و مبارزت بسیار نمود بزخم تیر کفار را منهذم گردانید ...... در اثنای آن جلادت و جهاد نظر سلطان معز الدین ...... بران آثار شهامت و مبارزت افتاد - از حال او استطلاع فرمود چون رای همایون او را روشن گشت که او را طلب فرمود و به تشریف خاص مشرف گردانید و سلطان قطب الدین را فرمان داد که التمش را نیکوداری که از وی کاری خواهد آمد و بفرمود تا خط عتق او در تحریر آوردند و بنظر پادشاهانه او را ملحوظ گردانید و بدولت احرارس رسانید *

Translation—

In the thick of the conflict, Shamsuddin (and his followers) drove their heavily armoured horses into the river Jhelum, wherein the enemy had taken shelter and with their bows and arrows were routing the enemy . . . . . While engaged in these feats of valour, Sultān Muizuddīn's eye fell on him, his contest and proofs of courage. He made enquiries of him and then sent for him and honoured him with a special robe of honour and ordered Qutbuddīn to treat him well; for he observed, 'good deeds will come of him'. So that by the king's orders, the letter of his manumission was written, he was treated with royal benignity and was granted the felicity of freedom.

Iltutmish as an administrator.

Secondly, as an administrator also, Iltutmish's record had been satisfactory. As governor of Badāūn he had been engaged in satisfying the spiritual and material needs of his subjects. He had built an Idgāh with a brick wall 302′ in length and a large tank known as the Hauz-i-Shamsi. Both the works exist today. These benefactions had made him popular with the inhabitants of the province.

Against Iltutmish, Ārām Shāh's was an unknown name. Even if it be accepted that he was Qutbuddīn's son[1] we have no other fact to his credit. Farishta emphasizes his inability and says that at first even the nobles of Delhi had accepted him as their king but because of his inability he did not rule for a full year and in this short period Sindh and Bengal had become independent and the various Hindu Rājās of the Delhi kingdom had raised the heads of disturbance. The Delhi nobles now regretted their previous decision and collecting now under Ali Ismail and Amir Dāūd Dailamī sent word to Iltutmish to come and occupy Delhi.[2] From Farishta it is evident that the nobles of Delhi who had agreed to the accession of Ārām Shāh soon found out the new Sultān's incapacity and in the interest of the kingdom they proposed a change, viz. the substitution of Iltutmish for Ārām Shāh. They hoped that Iltutmish would succeed in arresting the break-up of the newly-formed kingdom, suppress the rebel Rājās and restore Bengal and Sindh to the old Delhi kingdom. It may be mentioned that the results justified these hopes.

To sum up: in those difficult times Ārām Shāh did not prove equal to the occasion and so his deposition was determined upon by the same set of people that had raised him to the throne. They next offered the throne to Iltutmish who possessed the requisite qualifications of leadership, viz. liberal education and satisfactory record as soldier and administrator. He was also like a son to Qutbuddīn and had actually married his daughter. If Minhāj is to be credited, 'Qutbuddīn had contemplated Shamsuddīn's acquiring dominion', a circumlocutory way of foretelling his future kingship.

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[1] The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* of Nizāmuddīn Ahmad has

امرا و ارکان دولت. بحکم درست آرام شاه را که بغیر از و پس نداشت بر صحت لاهور جلوس فرمود ه

The nobles and the other pillars of the State in accordance with the proper orders placed on the throne at Lahore Ārām Shāh besides whom Qutbuddin had no son.

[2] See *Farishta*, Nawal Kishore Press edition, p. 64.

On his accession to the throne in the latter half of 1211 A.D., he removed the capital of the kingdom from Lahore to Delhi mostly to keep himself at a distance from Tājuddīn Yildiz and Nāsiruddīn Qabācha, his elders and independent rulers of Ghaznīn and Sindh respectively. With the former he entered into a treaty by which he accepted from Tājuddīn an umbrella and the royal mace and thus obtained a recognition of his position from a neighbour.[1] This alliance was highly advantageous to the new king, for he had yet to face the seditious Muizī and Qutbī nobles in his own kingdom. Nāsiruddīn Qabācha who had been loyal to the Delhi ruler in Qutbuddīn's time now refused to acknowledge Iltutmish's claims to the throne of Delhi and the result was a long-drawn contest between the two.

First of all, Iltutmish reckoned with the refractory Muizī and Qutbī nobles. Minhāj's words may be quoted:

التمش ...... خود را سلطان شمس الدین خطاب کرد و در سنه سبع و ستمائة بر تخت نشست اکثر ملوک و امرا مبالغت نمودند الا بعضی امرای معزی و قطبی که از اطراف دهلی طغیان نموده جمع آمدند و عصیان ورزیدند اما چون چراغ دولت او از نور تائید الهی روشنی پذیرفته بود مخالفان نادان را در اطفاء آن نور سعی نمودن جز خذلان فائده نداد و همه آنها علف تیغ بیدریغ شده ساحت سلطنتش را از خش و خاشاک وجود خود را پاک ساختند *

Translation—

Iltutmish called himself Sultān Shamsuddīn and in 607 A.H. (= 1210-1 A.D.) sat on the throne, most of the Qutbī maliks and amīrs strove (in his cause), but a few of the Muizī and Qutbī nobles of the districts surrounding Delhi had rebelled and gathered to-

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[1] Minhāj's words are:

٥ بعد ازان سلطان تاج الدین یلدز از لاهور و غزنین با او عهد بست و او را چتر و دور باش فرستاد

See p. 170, *Bibliotheca Indica* Series.

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gether, but as Iltutmish's lamp of felicity was lit by the heavenly light, the dissentient in trying to put out the light met with nothing but failure and disappointment. All of them became the fodder for the sword; and the plains of the kingdom were cleansed of their existence.

The reason of the rebellion of the Muizī and Qutbī nobles is clear. The Muizī nobles being the nobles from the days of Muizuddīn Ghurī thought themselves senior and hence superior to Iltutmish and the Qutbī nobles thought themselves equal to him. With the defeat of these rebellious nobles, Iltutmish strengthened his position on the throne of Delhi by controlling the administration of the neighbouring districts. In Minhāj's words[1]:

اطراف ممالک و مضافات حضرت دهلی و بداون و اوده و بنارس و سوالک
تمام در ضبط آمد *

Translation—

The different parts of the kingdom and the suburbs of Delhi and the districts of Badāūn, Oudh, Benares and Siwalik came under his control.

Iltutmish's differences with Yildiz.

Next his differences arose with Tājuddīn Yildiz. Tājuddīn had ruled for a decade or so in Ghaznīn and Kirman and had meant to be a friend to Iltutmish and his friendship, as we have seen above, had enabled the latter to overcome the opposition of the Muizī and Qutbī nobles. But now a misfortune befell Yildiz. Jalāluddīn Mangbarni, the ruler of Khwarizm, had a long war with Chinghiz Khan in which he was at last defeated. So flying before him, he went with his followers to Ghaznīn, drove away Yildiz and occupied it himself. Yildiz went to Lahore, held at this moment by one of Qabācha's officers, drove him away and occupied it himself. Iltutmish might have abstained from any interference, for he had met with plenty of good-will from Yildiz and none whatever from Qabācha. But he saw that his own safety was involved and Yildiz might wage a war some day with him for the throne of Delhi. So Iltutmish sent a strong force for the throne of Delhi. Iltutmish also made a strong protest against Yildiz's aggression and when his protests went in vain, attacked and defeated him at the battle of Tarāorī, January, 1216 A.D. Yildiz was captured in the battle, publicly paraded in the streets of Delhi and taken to Badāūn, where he was secretly done away with.

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[1] T.N., p. 171, ll. 2-3.

Iltutmish's fight with Qabācha.

After Iltutmish's return to Delhi, Qabācha hoped that with Yildiz's death, the Sultān of Delhi would allow the previous state of affairs to return and so hoping that Iltutmish would not object to his action, occupied Lahore. But Iltutmish had noticed Qabācha's hostile attitude towards him at the time of his accession and now that he had increased his strength by consolidating his kingdom, would not agree. A war followed in which Iltutmish was victorious. He recovered Lahore and the Upper Punjab. Qabācha for the present remained in possession of the Lower Punjab, Sindh and Multan. But the same cause that had overwhelmed Yildiz, viz. Jalāluddīn Mangbarni now crushed him. Jalāluddīn drove Qabācha from his territories and for the next three years, 1221–4 A.D., ruled in his place. In 1224 Jalāluddīn of his own accord vacated his Indian kingdom and Qabācha again recovered his territories. For the next two years Qabācha was left undisturbed in his territories and he might have continued for a longer period, had not his son, Alāuddīn Bahrām Shāh, given provocation to Iltutmish by attacking his kingdom.. The result was another war which ended with the defeat and death of Qabācha and the annexation of all his territories up to the very sea-shore in Sindh to the Delhi kingdom.

In Bengal too, Iltutmish scored a success. The Bengal governor, Hisāmuddīn Iwaz Husain, on his appointment in 1211 A.D. had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Delhi Sultān and had continued in his submission till 1220-1.[1] He assumed independence in 1222 A.D.[2] and assumed many high-sounding titles in imitation of the Sultāns of Delhi. He called himself السلطان الاعظم, Sultan the Great; السلطان المعظم, Sultan the honoured; ناصر امیر المومنین و ولی عهده علا الحق الدین, Aid to the Prince of the faithful and his successor, the Lamp of the law and the faith; قسیم امیر المومنین, Coparcener with the Prince of the faithful, معز الدنیا و الدین, the Strengther of the world and the faith; ابو المظفر or ابو الفتح, Father of victory; غیاث الدنیا و الدین, Aid of the world and the faith; السلطان السلاطین, the King of the kings. But Ghiyāsuddīn's high-sounding titles did not signify much; for when Iltutmish invaded Bengal in 1225 A.D., he did not resist for long. Peace was signed.

درمیان ایشان بصلح قرار افتاد و سی و هشت زنجیر پیل و هشتاد لک
مال بسته خطبه بنام سلطان کرد *

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[1] See H. N. Weight: The Sultans of Delhi, their Coinage and Metrology, p. 16, Nos. 49 H, I, J.

[2] See his coin in the Catalogue of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, p. 145, No. 1.

Translation—

A treaty was signed between them. Thirty-eight elephants and eighty lacs treasure were bestowed, and *ḵhutbah* was read in Sultān Iltutmish's name.

But Ghiyāsuddīn's submission was not sincere, for as soon as Iltutmish turned his back to the east, Ghiyāsuddīn invaded Bihār now included in the Delhi kingdom and molested Iltutmish's officials. Iltutmish at that moment was engaged elsewhere and so could not come himself; but his eldest son Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd, the governor of Oudh, first went to Bihār, reconquered it and then passed on to Bengal, defeated and killed Ghiyāsuddīn in 1227 A.D. Iltutmish now annexed Bengal to the Delhi kingdom and appointed the victor, Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd, its governor. Nāsiruddīn had won over the hearts of the *ulema* and the pious men of Delhi by his munificence and now in Bengal too achieved distinction by introducing a beneficent administration.

Two years later, in February, 1229 A.D., arrived an envoy from the Abbasid Khalīfa of Baghdād bringing a confirmation of regal title and several *ḵhilats* for Iltutmish. The Sultān announced the honour in several ways: one, by issuing coins bearing solely the name of the Khalīfa and not his own. One such has been noticed both by Thomas[1] and Nelson Wright.[2] The coin may be described here.

Obverse.	Reverse.
kalima	فى عهد الامام المستنصر امير المومنين
	margin ضرب ه . . . . . مايه
	Translation— In the time of the Imam, Al-mustansir, the Prince of the faithful. Struck in . . . . . hundred . . . Hijra.

Al-mustansir ruled from 623–40 A.H. = 1226–42 A.D. The only other king of Delhi that issued similar coins was Muhammad Tughluq.

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[1] The Chronicles, p. 46.

[2] S.D.C.M., p. 71.

Secondly, in honour of this recognition, Iltutmish completed the Qutb *minār* at Delhi and the *Arhāī-din-ka-jhompra* masjid at Ajmer and extended the *Quwwat-ul-Islām masjid* at Delhi and dug the *Hanz-i-Shamsī* at Delhi. The Qutb *minār* and Arhāī-din-ka-jhompra masjid are not dated but the dates are obtained from internal evidences.[1] The Quwwat-ul-Islām is dated. On the left pillar of the south central arch is inscribed

فی سهور سنة سبع عشرين و ستمائة

'in the months of the year 627 A.H. = 1229-30 A.D.'

The Hanz-i-Shamsī is assigned by tradition to the year 627 A.H. = 1229-30 A.D.[2] All these were constructed in celebration of the occasion.

Thirdly, he introduced additions or changes in his regal titles as seen in his inscriptions. One is that instead of Muizuddīn's or Ghiyāsuddīn's title سلطان السلاطين, Sultān-us-Salātīn, or سلطان الاعظم, Sultān-ul-Āzam, or سلطان المعظم, Sultān-ul-Muazzam, Iltutmish called himself السلطان الشرق, the king of the east, or سلطان سلطان الشرق,[3] the king of the kings of the east. By these titles Iltutmish desired to signify that his sphere of action was confined to the east as against the *Ḳhalīfa* of the day whose jurisdiction lay in the west. Second is that he changed السلطانى to السلطان. So long he used to call himself السلطانى, the slave of the king Qutbuddīn. Now he calls himself السلطان, the king. Third is that in place of the former phrase, مفخر ملوک العرب و العجم, the boast of the kings of the Arabs and the Persians, he now uses for himself the title مولی ملوک الترک و العجم, the master of the kings of the Turks and the Persians. The new phrase announced, on the one hand, his dignity and prestige as compared to the insignificance of the petty kings of Turkistān and Persia and on the other, his amicable relations with the Arab *Ḳhalīfa*.

It is clear that by now Iltutmish had stabilized his throne. His fame had spread far and wide and the Muslim world had recognized his greatness. But the Sultān was not content; he desired to further strengthen his hold on the country by the recognition of his eldest son, Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd as the heir apparent and so presented one of the *ḳhilats* sent by the *Ḳhalīfa* to him. Iltutmish's intentions

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[1] See *Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica*, 19.

[2] See Sir Syed's Āsār-us-Sanādīd, p. 23.

[3] It should really be السلطان السلاطين الشرق. The two phrases occur in the minarets of the *Arhāī-din-ka-jhompra* mosque.

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with regard to Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd are clear from Minhāj's statement:

همگنان را از ملوک و اکابر ممالک هند نظر بدو بود که وارث مملکت شمسی او باشد *

Translation—

All people from the Maliks and nobles of Hind downwards looked upon him as the heir to the Shamsi kingdom.[1]

But Nāsiruddīn's death in April, 1229 A.D., frustrated Iltutmish's plan of succession and Bengal was again in ferment. The late Sultān Ghīyāsuddīn's son, Daulat Shah Balka rose against Iltutmish's new governor of Bengal. What he desired for was not an independent kingdom for himself but only the governorship of Bengal under Iltutmish. This is clear from his coins. One of them issued in 629 A.H. = 1231-2 A.D. has the following inscription:—

Obverse.

المستنصر بالله
امیر المومنین
الاعظم شمس الدنیا و الدین
ابوالفتح ایلتتمش السلطان
برهان امیر المومنین

Translation—

Al-Mustansir, the Prince of the faithful by the grace of God. Sultān the great Shamsuduniyā wad dīn Abul Fath Iltutmish, the Sultān who demonstrates (the suzerainty) of the Prince of the faithful.

Reverse.

السلطان
العادل شهنشاه باذل
علا الدنیا و الدین ابو الغازی
دولت شاه بن مودود
عضد خلیفه الله
ظهیر امیر المومنین

Margin

. . . شهور سنه تسع و عشرین و ستمائة

Translation—

The Sultān the just, the Shahinshah the munificent, Atandduniyā wad dīn Abul Ghazi Daulat Shāh *bin* Maudud, the arm of the *Khalīfa* of God, supporter of the Prince of the faithful.

(In the) months of the year 629 A.H.

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[1] N.N., p. 181.

Comment on the above.

It will be seen that the name of the *Khalīfa* is mentioned and he is called the Prince of the faithful; also Iltutmish is called the Sultān-i-Āzam showing that he was superior to Daulat Shāh; Iltutmish is also called برهان امیر المومنین, the proof of the Prince of the faithful. Daulat Shāh bin Maudud is only entitled Sultān the just and Shahinshah the munificent.

But Daulat Shāh was not granted the governorship. Iltutmish went to Bengal in 1231 A.D., defeated and captured Daulat Shāh and appointed one of his own nobles, Alāuddīn Jānī, governor of the province.

The second choice of the heir-apparent.

Now that Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd was dead, the king had to choose his heir-apparent from among his remaining children. He had appointed his second son, Ruknuddīn Fīrūz, governor of Badāūn in 1227-8 A.D., and since the death of Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd was looked upon by the nobles as the likely choice of the king. But the expectations were not fulfilled; for though after the capture of Gwalior, December, 1232 A.D., Fīrūz was given the important fief of Lahore, Iltutmish chose as the heir-apparent his eldest daughter, Sultān Razia. This was an audacious pronouncement and surprised even the obsequious *Mushrif-i-mumālik*, Taj-ul-mulk, who was transcribing the order, but Iltutmish justified his choice on the basis of his daughter's capabilities and the worthlessness of his sons and in order to give her experience of administration made her governor of Gwalior. The absence of protest on the part of his nobles shows the grasp he had on his nobles. Though surprised at the astounding announcement, they remained quiet. Iltutmish may have been led to this decision by the persuasion of his chief queen, Turkan Khatun, Razia's mother.

Shamsi order of the forty.

Iltutmish is also credited with the establishment of the Shamsi order of the forty nobles. Originally, the nobles were purchased as slaves but by degrees they purchased their freedom and rose to be the most weighty personages in the State, so much so that in time they superseded the Maliks of the old order and others of noble birth. Ziāuddīn Baranī has described the Shamsi order in the following words:—

در عمر بادشاهی ایشان بندگان ترک ایشان را چهلگانی میگفتند بر امور ملکی مستولی شدند و با قوت و شوکت گشتند ملوک احرار و معارف اشراف که پیش تخت شمسی نامور و معتبر بودند از میان برداشتند [1] *

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Translation—

In his reign, the (chief) slaves of his were called (of the order) of the forty. They gained ascendancy in the State matters and became powerful and dignified chiefs and gradually superseded those high-born Maliks and other distinguished personages who prior to Iltutmish's reign bore fame and distinction.

The Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī has given a description of twenty-five of his Maliks, most of whom he had purchased himself originally as slaves. These slaves were men of exceptional ability and very often men of comely appearance. After the purchase, they were generally given minor offices, e.g. sar-jān-dār (chief armour-bearer), chāshnīgīr (controller of the kitchen), sāqī-i-ḳhās (personal cup-bearer), yūz-bān (keeper of the hunting leopard), sharāb-dār (store-keeper of the liquors), tasht-dār (ewer-bearer), jāma-dār (keeper of the wardrobe); sometimes they were given the charges of a more important kind, e.g. amīr-i-majlis (lord of the assembly), shahna-i-bahr-o-kishtīhā (superintendent of rivers and vessels), barbandagī-i-pēsh-i-taḳht (with an office before the throne). Later on, almost every one of them was a governor of an important province like Lahore, Multān, Nagore, Badāūn, Oudh, etc. This creation of a set of trained administrators was Iltutmish's greatest achievement. The record of the administrators may be read in the pages of Minhāj's history, where it will be seen that by their loyalty, service and administrative experience, they had made themselves indispensable to the king. They were, so to say, the pillars of the State and for some time after their master's death, continued to do good service in one capacity or the other.

The exiled princes in Delhi.

Iltutmish's court was also thronged by many of the exiled princes who had lost their territories in the Mughal upheaval that took place under Changhiz Khan. These princes lent dignity to Iltutmish's throne and spread his fame throughout the Muslim world. Ziāuddīn Baranī says[1]:

در عهد سلطان شمس الدين از خوف و نکال چنگيز خان ملعون مغل ملوک و امرای نامدار که سالها سری و سروری کرده بودند و وزرا و معارف بسيار بدرگاه سلطان شمس الدين پيوستند و از وجود آنچنان ملوک که نوادر ملوک بودند و از خمور آنچنان وزرا و معارف که در شرف و حريت و اصالت و فضايل و هنرمندی

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[1] P. 27.

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و خردمندی در ربع مسکون نظیر خود نداشتند درگاه سلطان شمس الدین درگاه محمودی
و سنجری شده بود *

Translation—

In Sultān Shamsuddīn's reign, owing to the accursed Changhiz Khan, the Mongol's fear and tyranny, the illustrious Maliks and amīrs, who for ages had acted as leaders and also many ministers and other celebrities had thronged to his court. Those Maliks, who were the rarest of their kind and those ministers and other celebrities who in dignity, frankness, integrity, virtues, skill, and wisdom had no equal in the whole world, made Shamsuddīn Iltutmish's court look like that of Mahmūd or Sanjar.

Thus we may justly conclude that Iltutmish was the most magnificent Muslim monarch of his age.

One or two other measures of the king may also be mentioned.

Iltutmish's currency reforms.

We all know that Iltutmish had reformed the currency. In fact he is supposed to be the first Muslim king of India who had issued silver coins. In Nelson Wright's words, 'Iltutmish was a great moneyer. That he established the silver *tankah* and the billon *jital* on a firm footing was in itself a remarkable achievement. The influence of this silver *tankah* may be said to have continued down to the present day. His incorporation of the indigenous 32-*rati* weight standard into his currency scheme was a skilful move which made for both popularity and permanence.'[1] But he may also be remembered for the recognition of the local coinage, only insisting on the insertion of his name as the suzerain. For an illustration, see Thomas's *Chronicles*, page 70, the coins Nos. 39 and 40. The first coin shows the local rājā, Chāhar Dēv, as an independent sovereign and the second shows him as a rājā subordinate to Iltutmish. The inscriptions of the two coins may be shown here:

	Obverse.	Reverse.
No. 39.	*horseman* श्री चाहड देव	*bull* असावरी श्री समन्त देव
No. 40.	*horseman* श्री चाहड देव	*bull* असावरी श्री समसोरल देवे

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[1] Wright: The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultāns of Delhi, p. 71.

It will be seen that Iltutmish had freely used the Hindi characters and symbols like bull or horseman. Even the name of the *Khalīfa* Al-Mustansir Billah occurs in Hindi along with the symbol of bull.[1] It is a striking example of his breadth of views and of his efforts to conciliate his Hindi subjects. Also the two *Hauz-i-Shamsis* dug by him, one at Badāūn and the other at Delhi, must have earned gratitude for him of his Hindu subjects, who along with his Muslim subjects had profited by them.

Let us sum up our conclusions:

Conclusion.

(1) Iltutmish's kingship was the choice of the nobles and he was expected to stop the disintegration of the kingdom that had set in in Ārām Shāh's reign. The expectation was fulfilled by the recovery of Sindh and Bengal.

(2) He well knit the kingdom by disposing of his rivals, Yildiz and Qabācha, and crushing the disobedient Hindu or Muslim chiefs. Amongst the latter he made no distinction between the Muizī or Qutbī nobles and those who possessed no such distinction.

(3) He was a generous as well as stern ruler. In Bengal, at first he had allowed Ghiyāsuddīn to escape destruction by the payment of tribute. When he persisted in his opposition, he was annihilated and his territory was annexed. When Ghiyāsuddīn's son, Daulat Shāh, rose again pleading only for a governorship under Iltutmish's suzerainty, Iltutmish paid no heed to his pleadings and killed him.

(4) Towards the Hindus also his policy was marked by a mixture of firmness and conciliation. He subdued many of them in North India and Malwa but allowed their chiefs a local importance on condition of acknowledgment of his suzerainty. Similarly he recognized the Hindu practices by imitating their decorations in his buildings or their symbols on coins.

(5) His greatest achievement was the establishment of the Shamsi order of the forty nobles. These forty nobles formed the cream of his civil and military services and supplied him with administrators. He hoped that they would continue to be useful even after his death.

(6) His kingship was recognized by the *Khalīfa*, who was in theory the head of the Muslim world. Out of deference to the *Khalīfa* he called himself the Sultān of the east. But the petty Persian and Turki princes he mostly ignored—nay, even challenged by assuming the title, 'the Master of the kings of Persia and Turkistān'.

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[1] See Thomas's Chronicles, p. 52, No. 28*b*.

MINŪCHIHIRĪ

By M. ISHAQUE

1. Doulat Shāh in his Taẕkireh has given the sobriquet 'Shast-Kuleh' to Minūchihirī and subsequent writers following him have also affixed it to his name. But this sobriquet has nothing to do with him. It rather belongs to another poet Shamsuddīn Aḥmad b. Minūchihr of whom we find no mention in any other work save and except in Rāḥat-uṣ-Ṣudūr Wa Āyat-us-Surūr by Najimuddīn Abī Bakr Moḥammad b. 'Alī Rāwandī wherein his name has been mentioned as Amīr-u'sh-Shuarā Wa Ṣafīru'l Kobarā Shamsuddīn Aḥmad b. Minūchihr Shast-Kuleh.[1] From his writing it is well established that this poet was a contemporary of the author of this history and Syed Ḥasan of Ghazna, a famous poet of the sixth century A.H. Hence Shamsuddīn Aḥmad b. Minūchihr Shast-Kuleh was a poet of the sixth century and he lived more than a century after Minūchihirī, the poet under discussion, and that he was living during the rule of the Seljuk Sultan Tughril b. Arsalan (571–590 A.H.). The author of this book met him in 580 A.H.[2] Excepting the following three distichs, which are contained in that book, nothing else is extant:—

صبح بی روی تو نفس نزند   نفس عشق بی تو کس نزند
وصل تو نگذرد بکوی امید   تا در خانهٔ هوس نزند
بنده گر با تو یک نفس بنشست   جز برآن یار یک نفس نزند

Hence it is quite clear that the sobriquet 'Shast-Kuleh' which belongs to Shamsuddīn Aḥmad b. Minūchihr, a poet of the sixth century and a contemporary of Ḥasan of Ghazna, has been erroneously given to Minūchihirī, a poet of the fifth century, by Doulat Shāh and his followers. The cause of this error is quite obvious. The name of Minūchihirī was Aḥmad and the name of the other poet was Aḥmad b. Minūchihr. This close similarity in the names of the two poets led to the confusion.

2. Whether Minūchihirī has eulogized Maḥmūd of Ghazna is another disputed point. 'Awfī quotes the following lines and is

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[1] Gibb Memorial Series, pp. 57 and 58.

[2] *Ibid.*

of opinion that the qaṣīda in which these lines occur was written in praise of Sultan Maḥmūd:—

قیصر شرابدار تو جیپال پاسبان   پیغو رکابدار تو فغفور پرده‌دار
اندر حجاز بزم کنی در عراق رزم   اندر عرب مظالم و اندر عجم شکار

In the Teheran edition also the qaṣīda containing these lines is in praise of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna. There is nothing, however, in the qaṣīda itself to warrant the view that it was written in praise of Sultan Maḥmūd. On the contrary, the following lines make it clear beyond any doubt that the qaṣīda was not written in praise of the Sultan. Doulat Shāh and subsequent writers following him are also of opinion that Minūchihirī was a panegyrist to Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna. It is, however, a well-established fact that Minūchihirī was not one amongst the poets of the court of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, because at first Minūchihirī was attached to the court of Amīr Minūchihr b. Kabus Washmgir, the ruler of Gurjān and Tabaristan and son-in-law of Sultan Maḥmūd, and so long Sultan Maḥmūd was alive he was very courteous to his son-in-law; but soon after the Sultan died, the despotic attitude of his son Mas'ūd caused the breach of amity between these two houses and it was during this time that Minūchihirī went over to the court of Ghazna as he himself says:

دانی که من مقیمم بر در گه شهنشه   تا بازگشت سلطان از لاله‌زار ساری

and because the qaṣīda containing the above verse is in praise of Sultan Mas'ūd, the word Sultan in the above extract refers to Mas'ūd of Ghazna and the tour of Sultan Mas'ūd, to which the poet refers, took place during the years 426-427 A.H.[1] During these two years Sultan Mas'ūd, after getting himself firmly established, made a tour of Mazandrān when Minūchihr b. Ḳābūs had already died and Amīr Dārā, son of Ḳābūs, better known as Amīr-i-Ḳālanjar, was on the throne. Sultan Mas'ūd and the said Amīr were on good terms till this time. Before this the poet had never been to the Ghaznavid court; so it is not possible at all that he might have composed any panegyric on Maḥmūd and, accordingly, we find no panegyric on Sultan Maḥmūd in his Diwan. Thus, the view that Minūchihirī 'wrote any panegyric on Sultan Maḥmūd is erroneous'.

3. That Minūchihirī has written any panegyric on Sultan Muhammad is also erroneous. The author of Majma-ul-Fusaha gives an account of 'Unṣurī introducing the poet to Muhammad b. Maḥmūd

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[1] Vide *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*, Teheran edition, p. 456f.

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of Ghazna, and it is said that the poet enjoyed the honour and privilege of a Tarkhani in the court of Sultan Muhammad. This is also not correct, because after the death of his father in 421 A.H. (1030 A.D.), Muhammad ruled for only eight months when Mas'ūd dethroned and blinded him and kept him in prison. After the death of Sultan Mas'ūd in 432 A.H. (1040 A.D.) Muhammad was again brought back to the throne but only after three months was put to death by Sultan Maudūd b. Mas'ūd. At this time Minūchihirī was no longer alive. Also Minūchihirī never came from Gurjān and Tabaristan to Ghazna previous to the rule of Mas'ūd and no panegyric on Sultan Muhammad is contained in the Diwan of the poet: so it is not possible that Minūchihirī ever wrote any panegyric on Muhammad. This view also finds support from the following lines of the poet himself which occur in one of his panegyrics on Mas'ūd:—

تا من درین دیارم مدح کسی نه گفتم   جز آفرین و مدحت ز آن شاه و حق گذاری
جز بر در شهنشه بر در گهی نه رفتم   نه بر در حجازی نه بر در بخاری

4. That Minūchihirī sang the praise of Ahmad b. Hasan Maimandi is also quite incorrect. Minūchihirī in one of the qaṣīdas says:—

این طربناکی و چالاکی او هست کنون   از موافق شدن دولت با بوالحسنا

Again, in some other place he says:—

ای بَدَلِ ذوالیزن بوالحسن بن حسن   فاعل فعل حَسَن صاحب دو کف راد

Kazimirski, who edited the Diwan of Minūchihirī, erroneously considers that Abul Hasan referred to in the verses quoted above must be Ahmad b. Hasan Maimandi Mas'ūd.[1] His mistake is probably due to the fact that in Habib-us-Siyar the Kuniyet of Ahmad b. Hasan Maimandi is erroneously mentioned as Abul Hasan. All other historians and contemporary poets are unanimous that the Kuniyet of Ahmad b. Hasan was Abul Kasim and under no circumstances an individual had two Kuniyets. Over and above this it was not possible for Minūchihirī to have composed any panegyric on him because at that time, as has been already remarked, Minūchihirī was in Gurjān and Tabaristan and had no connection with the court of Ghazna, and it is also not possible that the poet wrote any panegyric on him during his ministry under the rule of Sultan

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[1] Vide Note 1, p. 307 and Note No. 1, p. 317.

Mas'ūd, as the premier died in Herat in the month of Ṣafar in 424 A.H.[1] and because Minūchihirī came to the court of Mas'ūd in the year 426-27 A.H. after the death of Ahmad b. Hasan, and if Minūchihirī at all wrote qaṣīdas on one of the ministers of the court and if he mentioned the name as 'Ahmad' it was on Khawja Abdul Hamid Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Abdus Samad who after the death of Ahmad b. Hasan Maimandi became the Minister of Sultan Mas'ūd in 425 A.H. and continued to be so even during the rule of Maudud b. Mas'ūd (432–44 A.H.).

5. The author of Khulasat-ul-Afkar has written that Minūchihirī was a pupil of Abul Faraj Sikzi and other writers following him have also written the same thing. This view also is erroneous. Abul Faraj Sikzi or Abul Faraj Simjuri was a poet who flourished towards the end of the fourth century. He lived during the reign of Nasiruddin Sabuktigin in Herat and Khurasan, whereas Minūchihirī at this time was a mere child at Damaghan and it is not possible that he had been a pupil of Abul Faraj Sikzi.

6. The author of Majma-ul-Fusaha says that Minūchihirī was a pupil of Unsuri. This is also a mistake which has arisen from the fact that Minūchihirī in his qaṣīda composed in the metaphor of a candle has mentioned Unsuri as استاد (Ustad, i.e. Master). Obviously, Minūchihirī paid this compliment to Unsuri out of respect for the poet and also with the object of gaining his favour, and not because Unsuri was his teacher in reality. It is only after the year 427 A.H. when Minūchihirī went to the court of Ghazna that he became acquainted with Unsuri there. He had already become a famous poet and had no need to undergo any training whatsoever under Unsuri.

7. The different editions of the Diwan of Minūchihirī lithographed in Teheran contain poems which are not Minūchihirī's compositions. As for instance, the qaṣīda, the first verse of which begins with:

جواز زلف شب باز شد تابها فرو مرد قندیل محرابها

(i) The ninth verse of the qaṣīda has been quoted in Kitabul Mujam Fi-Maair-i-Ashaar-il-Ajam[2] and its authorship attributed to Unsuri. It runs as follows:—

ابر زیر و بم شعر اعشی و قیس همی زد رننده بعنابها

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[1] Vide *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*, Teheran edition, p. 371.

[2] Gibb Memorial Series, p. 269.

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(ii) Also the authorship of the qaṣīda (which has been incorporated in Kazimirski's edition also) with the malta

سلام علی دار ام الکوعب   بتان سیر چشم عنبر دوائب

has been ascribed in Munis-ul-Ahrar[1] fi-Daqaiq-il-Ashaar and in Majma-ul-Fusaha[2] to Hasan-i-Mutakallim, a poet of the seventh century A.H. The 51st verse of the qaṣīda runs as follows:—

منم از نژاد بزرگان سامان   که بودند شاهان چتر و کواکب

Thus we see that the author of the qaṣīda claims descent from the Samanid dynasty, whereas we have no knowledge that Minūchihirī had any royal blood in him.

(iii) There is another qaṣīda which actually belongs to Khaju or Kirman, a well-known poet of the sixth century A.H. and is contained in his Diwan. Besides there is internal evidence in the qaṣīda itself to show that it could not have been composed by Minūchihirī. The poet in the 23rd verse of the qaṣida gives the date of construction of the Hamman as the year 716 A.H. Again, the 30th verse contains reference to Anwari, which shows that the qaṣīda was the composition of a poet who was a contemporary of, or who flourished after, Anwari. The strongest evidence is found in Tarikh-i-Jadid dealing with the history of Yazd written by Ahmad b. Husain b. Ali Katib of Yazd. While describing the various constructions made in Yazd under the orders of Amīr Muhammad Muzaffar, i.e. Muhammad b. Muzaffar (713 to 759 A.H.), the founder of the Muzaffarid dynasty, the author writes about the Hamman made under the orders of the aforesaid Amīr and quotes several verses from this very qaṣīda which was written in praise of the Hamman with the assertion that the same was composed by Kamaluddin Khaju of Kirman.

Besides this, the style of the qaṣīda is widely different from that of Minūchihirī, which by itself is a proof that it is not a composition of Minūchihirī.

(iv) Another is a Musammat which, from a perusal of the old trustworthy manuscripts, appears to be a composition of Manjik of Tirmiz, a poet who flourished in the beginning of the fifth century before Minūchihirī.

8. There are several verses found in various works which are not contained in his Diwan. As for instance, there is one with eleven verses which has been quoted in page 407 in Kitabul Munjaim as the composition of Minūchihirī. There are two stanzas of

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[1] Gibb Memorial Series, p. 269.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 14 of the volume No. 2.

Tarjiband consisting of nine verses, the first one of which has been quoted in Manazir-ul-Insha by Shaik Mahmūd b. Shaik Mohammad of Gillan[1] as the composition of Minūchihirī.

Again there is another qaṣīda consisting of 43 verses, which has been written in some of the old manuscripts as belonging to Minūchihirī and in some manuscripts of the Diwan of Khakani it has been quoted as the composition of Khakani. But the style of the qaṣīda bears no resemblance to the style of Khakani.

In some standard lexicons, we find several verses cited by way of illustration as compositions of Minūchihirī but they are not found in his Diwan nor are poems of similar metre and rhyme found in his Diwan. Thus it is obvious that the qaṣīdas containing those verses are lost.

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[1] Printed in Istamboul, p. 57.

MISCELLANEA

KAUMUDĪMAHOTSAVA

I(a) Author

The late Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi has to his credit the discovery and publication of many forgotten pieces of historical value. One such is the *Kaumudīmahotsava,* which he edited along with Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Śāstrī. But who was the author of this literary gem? In the Introduction to his book, he has to confess that the letters containing the name of the poet are worm-eaten in the original MS. The space occupied by them, however, can comprise two letters only. The letters following them are *kayā nibaddham* which he rightly remarks 'shows that the author belonged to the fair sex' and that her name was composed of three letters. He guessed that it was *Vijjikā* (*Vijjakā*). He even informs us that a close examination of the leaf revealed a part of *ja* underneath the worm-eaten portion which strengthens his inference. *Vijjakā* is thus, to all intents and purposes, the name of the author. His mind, however, is shadowed with some doubt, because on page 35 of this book occurs the following verse:—

Jayati prathamaṃ vijayā jayanti dēvāḥ svayaṃ Mahādēvaḥ |
Śrīmantau bhagavantāv=Ananta-Nārāyaṇau jayataḥ ||

This need not cast at all any reasonable doubt upon the name of the author. Amongst the deities mentioned in this verse the last two are *Ananta-Nārāyaṇau,* which is in the dual, and not *Ananta-Nārāyaṇaḥ*, which is the name of the chief deity of Trivandrum. This verse again begins with the name of *Vijayā* which is a point of great importance in my opinion. Immediately after *Sūtradhāra* sings his song in praise of Kṛittivāsas (Mahādēva), we are told that when the drama was to be acted, the autumn season had approached—the autumnal season which is a great festival common to all people. *Vijayā* fits excellently with this great festivity of autumn (*śarat-samaya*). As a matter of fact, in north India, especially in the eastern part of it, the festivities of *Vijayā-daśamī* are too well known to require any mention. This shows that the mind of the author was far removed from the site of Anantanārāyaṇa, god of Trivandrum.

S. R. S.

KAUMUDĪMAHOTSAVA

II(b) Author

We may thus take it that the author of the drama is Vijjakā and that she flourished in the eastern part of India, if she was not actually a native of Bengal. The name Vijjakā at once reminds us of the verse which is attributed to her at least in the *Śārṅgadhara-Paddhati* (No. 180), which runs as follows:—

Nīl-ōtpala-dala-śyāmāṃ Vijjakāṃ mām=ajānatā |
Vṛth=aiva Daṇḍinā prōktaṃ sarva-śuklā Sarasvatī ||

Evidently in this stanza Vijjakā describes herself as 'dark like the petal of a blue lotus'. Nevertheless she is bold enough to style herself as Sarasvatī and find fault with the poet Daṇḍin because he has described the goddess Sarasvatī '*sarvaśuklā*'. This gives rise to two inferences: the first is that she was a contemporary of Daṇḍin and was possibly known to him through her writings. The second inference is that she must have composed a number of works which attracted the attention and admiration of her contemporaries. Now Daṇḍin begins his Kāvyādarśa with the following verse:—

Chaturmukha-mukh-āmbhōja-vana-haṃsa-vadhūr=mama |
Mānase ramatāṃ dīrghaṃ sarva-śuklā Sarasvatī ||

This poem of Daṇḍin must, therefore, have been known to Vijjakā. On the other hand, as she chides the poet for describing Sarasvatī as *sarva-śuklā,* there can be no doubt that she was his contemporary. How else could she scold Daṇḍin that he knew about her rather dark complexion and yet styled *Sarasvatī* as 'all-fair'. That she was a *Sarasvatī* is proved by the number of verses which are ascribed to her in the various anthologies and which are as many as 29. Unfortunately not one of them is traceable in the *Kaumudīmahotsava.* This need not run counter to the view propounded above. The case is not unlike Bhāsa. Multifarious verses have been attributed to this poet in the anthologies, but hardly any one has been found in his works so far published.

S. R. S.

SOCIAL STATUS OF THE MAURYAS

The barber-story is almost proverbial in the ancient royal tradition of India. When a reigning monarch was found stingy in the payment of rewards or in making gifts, he was taken to be a barber's son.[1] There must have been some such reason at the back of the Brahmanical tradition regarding the Śūdra origin of the Nandas and Mauryas. The Purāṇas predict, 'As son of Mahānandin (last Śaiśunāga) by a *Śūdra* woman will be born a king, Mahāpadma (Nanda) who will exterminate all *kṣatriyas*. Thereafter kings will be of *śūdra* origin'.[2]

The founder of the Nanda family is called 'the leading vile man' (*nīcamukhyaḥ*) in the Mūlakalpa (verse 424).[3] In the Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā the first Nanda, who was a warrior-like man, figures as the powerful leader of a gang of thieves and a band of freebooters. He is not, however, connected by the Pali tradition with the last Śaiśunāga through blood-relationship. The Mūlakalpa legend says that originally he was the prime minister of the last king of Viśoka-Kālāśoka's family.

Curtius narrates a story from the Indian stock, which is devised to account for the *śūdra* origin of Agrammes (Augrasainya-Nanda). According to this story, father of Agrammes was a wretched barber, who could be in love-intrigue with the queen of the reigning king because of his prepossessing appearance. By her influence he gained so much confidence of the king as to figure ultimately as a trusted adviser. Taking advantage of this privileged position he treacherously murdered the king, and 'under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the royal young princes to death begot 'Agrammes'. The suggestion is that the Nanda contemporary of Alexander was a barber's son by the queen dowager of the last Śaiśunāga. Hemachandra in his Pariśiṣṭaparvan, however, represents the first Nanda 'as the son of a courtezan by a barber', while, according to the Purāṇas, he was 'a son of the last Śaiśunāga by a śūdra woman'.[4]

The process of myth-making did not stop short there: the śūdra or barber-story continued. Despite the fact that neither the Pali Chronicles nor the Purāṇas suggest any blood-connection between the last Nanda and the first Maurya, Viśākhadatta, his commentator Dhuṇḍirāja and other Sanskrit scholiasts would derive the dynastic name *Maurya* from that of Murā, a *śūdra* woman by whom the last Nanda begot Candragupta (Maurya, father of Candragupta, according to Dhuṇḍirāja).[5] In the Mudrārākṣasa itself Cāṇakya openly calls Candragupta a *Vṛṣala* or *Śūdra*, which need not, however,

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[1] Cf. Pali *Suppāraka Jātaka* (No. 463).

[2] Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text*, pp. 25, 69.

[3] Jayaswal, *An Ancient History*, p. 14.

[4] Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed., pp. 187f. In the Jaina *Vividha-Tīrthakalpa*, p. 6, Nanda is described as *nāpita-gaṇikā-sutaḥ*.

[5] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

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worry us as we know from the Pali Vasala and Ambaṭṭha Suttas that the Brāhman teachers applied the contemptuous terms *Vṛṣala* and *Bandhupādāpatya* ('one sprung from the feet of Brahmā', i.e. a *Sūdra*) to the *Śramaṇas*, the Śākyaputriyas included, not because, as pointed out in the Sutta-nipāta-Commentary, they were all of the Sūdra caste but because they admitted even the Sūdras into their orders and interdined with them.

The force of the story of the barber-mother or grandmother of Candragupta may be counteracted by the Divyāvadāna story of the barber-mother of Aśoka himself. His mother was not a woman of the barber caste but a very handsome and accomplished Brahmin girl from Campā whom other queens of Bindusāra, jealous of her, employed her in the palace to attend as a female hair-dresser on the king. When she disclosed the real fact to the king, she said, 'Lord! I am not a barber girl but a daughter of a Brahmin by whom I am offered to be your wife'.[1]

Hemachandra in his Pariśiṣṭaparvan derives the name *Maurya* from *mayura* ('peacock') and suggests that Candragupta came to be styled *Maurya* from the circumstance that he was 'the son of a daughter of the chief of a village of peacock-tamers (*mayurapoṣakāḥ*).[2] If the Greek writer Justin describes Sandrocottus as a man 'of mean origin', it does not mean much, since he must have based his account on an Indian tradition.

The Pali Chronicles, on the other hand, and Buddhist legends[3] generally represent Candragupta as a scion of the Moriya clan of Kṣatriyas—the Moriyas of Pipphalivana,[4] which abounded with wild peacocks. Led, however, by a Śākya-phobia, the Buddhist legends describe the Moriyas as descendants of the Śākyas who fled away from their own territory when it was overrun by the army of Viḍūḍabha-Virūḍhaka, the usurper king of Kośala, and founded a new territory. The story is guilty of anachronism because, as borne out by the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, the Moriyas of Pipphalivana were, precisely like the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, one of the eight rival claimants for the bodily remains of the Buddha.

As for the connection of the Mauryas of Pāṭaliputra with the Moriyas,[4] the Mahāvaṃsa-ṭīkā tells us that Candragupta's mother, who was the chief queen of the then reigning Moriya king, fled in disguise from the Moriya capital to Puṣpapura (Pāṭaliputra) during her advanced pregnancy, and gave birth to her son there, when the Moriya territory was seized by a powerful neighbour (samantarañña). The story built up in this connection reads somehow as a later replica of the earlier legend of the birth of Aśoka's elder step-brother's son Nyagrodha, and at the root of the ingenuity of the one, precisely as at that of the other is a fantastic philological justification of the personal name.

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[1] *Divyāvadāna*, p. 370: *Deva, nāham nāpinī api brāhmaṇasyāhaṃ duhitā tena devasya patnyārthaṃ dattā.*

[2] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

[3] Beal, *Buddhist Records*, I, p. 126.

[4] According to Raychaudhuri, Pipphalivana 'probably lay between Rummindei in the Nepalese Tarai and Kasia in the Gorakhpur district'. Note that Hwen Thsang narrates a legend (Beal, *Buddhist Records*, I, p. 126), which connects the Śākya-Mauryas with the country of Udyāna.

Candragupta does not appear to have been known to Megasthenes, and for the matter of that, to any of the Greek writers, as a scion of the Maurya family. None need be surprised at all if the connection of the Mauryas with the Moriyas was due to an afterthought on the part of the Buddhists when they wanted to especially honour their Dharmāśoka and claim him as their own man. The Buddhist legends concerning the Śākya lineage of the Moriyas and Mauryas would seem accountable also for the representation of the Mauryas in certain late mediaeval Mysore inscriptions as Kṣatriyas who sprang from Mandhātṛi of the Solar race.[1]

Hemachandra, as we noted, accounts for the dynastic name Maurya by the tradition that Candragupta was a son of the daughter of the headman of a village of *mayurapoṣakas* ('peacock-tamers'). Buddhaghosa informs us that the Kṣatriyas who founded their territory at Pipphalivana were called Moriyas because this place happened to be a feeding-ground of *moras* (peacocks).[2] The Mahāvaṃsa-ṭīkā, which connects Candragupta with the Moriyas, accounts for their name by a tradition that they built in their capital buildings of blue stone like the neck of the peacock, and the place always resounded with the cries of peacocks.[3]

In support of the connection of the Mauryas with peacocks, Raychaudhuri notices the following two facts[4] which create but a presumptive evidence:—

(i) that Aelian speaks of tame peacocks that were kept in the parks attached to the Maurya palace at Pāṭaliputra; and

(ii) that figures of peacocks were employed to decorate some of the projecting ends of the architraves of the east gateway at Sāñcī.[5]

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, II, p. 222; Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

[2] Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, II, p. 673.

[3] *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, I, p. 180; *mayūra-gīva-saṅkāsa-chhadaniṭṭhaka-pāsāda-pantikaṃ . . . mayūrakeka-nādehi pūritaṃ ugghositaṃ*.

[4] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

[5] Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, pp. 44, 62. Attention might be drawn to the representation of a 'peacock-palace' as a decorative device on the outer railing of the *Stūpa of Bharhut*.

If any light is thrown on this point by Aśoka's R.E. I, it is rather this, namely, that the Mauryas of Pāṭaliputra were inordinately fond of peacock's flesh. All the animals could be dispensed with and exempted from daily slaughter in the royal kitchen for the purpose of curry but not two peafowls (*duvi majura*). The inference to be reasonably drawn from this is that the dynastic name, Maurya, was really a nickname, which probably gained currency from the excessive fondness of the rulers of this family for peafowl's flesh. In other words, the Mauryas were rather *mayurakhādakas* than *mayurapoṣakas*.

There is no conclusive evidence as yet to establish Candragupta's lineal descent from the Śākya-Moriyas or Nandas. Plutarch's remark that 'Androkottus himself, who was then a lad, saw Alexander himself and afterwards used to declare that Alexander might easily have occupied the whole country, as the then king was hated by his subjects on account of his mean and wicked disposition'[1] must be taken with a grain of salt. There was nothing in Candragupta's conversation to enrage Alexander who, according to Justin, 'did not scruple to give orders to kill the intrepid Indian lad for his boldness of speech'. It was quite against the youthful spirit of Candragupta who in Justin's opinion was the brave hero and military leader, and who made India free, shaking off 'from its neck the yoke of slavery' since Alexander's death.

To me Candragupta was a man of the Uttarāpatha or Gandhāra, if not exactly of Takṣaśilā. His early education, military training, and alliances were all in that part of India. He added the whole of the province of Gandhāra and the surrounding tribal States (Punjab and N.W. Frontier Province) to the growing Magadha empire together with the territories ceded to him by Seleukos Nikator. The love was never lost between this *aparānta* and the Mauryas. Aśoka's scribes were all persons whose habitual script was Kharoshṭi, and his artists were those who were still carrying on the tradition of the architecture of Persepolis. Candragupta and Aśoka of the Maurya dynasty who could create a glorious history for themselves and their country, did not need credentials based upon royal lineage. The Greek writers speak only of one matrimonial alliance by which Seleukos ratified his treaty with Candragupta.

B. M. BARUA.

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[1] *Life of Alexander*, lxii.

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTE: VIKRAMĀDITYA VI AND HOYSALA VISHṆUVARDHANA

A verse in the Gaddak inscription (A.D. 1192) of Ballāla II refers to his grandfather Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana and says:

> Yah smāryate niyuktaiḥ pratyupacāram nṛpeṣvasādhyatayā |
> Paramārdideva-nṛpater=Hoysalam avadhārayeti muhuḥ ||

Fleet understood this verse as follows: 'Recognizing that, among all princes, the Hoysala was the most impracticable to deal with, Permāḍi, i.e. the Western Chālukya King Vikramāditya VI, treated Vishṇuvardhana with just the same respectful behaviour which Vishṇuvardhana displayed towards himself.'[1] Accordingly he concluded that the Hoysala and his suzerain continued to be friends, and that when Vishṇuvardhana advanced to the Krishṇā river with his forces, he was 'in conflict, not so much with Vikramāditya VI himself, who is recognized in the records as his paramount sovereign, as with the Sinda feudatories of the Western Chālukya King'. Now in saying this, Fleet has set aside the clear evidence of the Sinda inscriptions very well known to him that Āchugi II and later his son were throughout carrying out the behests of their suzerain, the Chāḷukya emperor.[2] He has also lost sight of the fact that, excepting his wars with the lieutenants of Kulōttunga in Gangavāḍi, all the wars of Vishṇuvardhana were waged against the feudatories of Chāḷukya emperor, and consequently against the emperor himself. Lightly as the yoke of an Indian empire sat upon the necks of its feudatories, it never was so loose as to absolve the emperor from the elementary responsibility of securing to his subordinates freedom from molestation by the foreign invader or oppression by fellow feudatories.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar rightly took exception to the interpretation of the verse cited above which led to such impossible results. He said, 'Dr. Fleet's translation of this verse is incorrect. The words are to be thus collocated. Nṛpeṣu asādhyatayā Hoysalam avadhāraya iti Paramārdideva nṛpateḥ pratyupacāram yaḥ niyuktaiḥ muhuḥ smāryate.' The translation given by Bhandarkar reads: 'He was again and again reminded by his servants of the honour done to him by King Paramārdideva (Vikramāditya), who said "know the Hoysala alone among all princes to be unconquerable".'[3] I think that even this translation misses the point of the verse. When I say this I would not be understood as unmindful of the great authority that attaches to a pronouncement of Bhandarkar on the interpretation of a Sanskrit text. But it seems to me that while the collocation of the words in the verse suggested by the veteran Sanskritist is unexceptionable, its full force does not come out in the translation he has offered. The mischief lies in the understanding of the word 'pratyupacāram'; this term was understood by Fleet in the easily apparent sense of 'honour in return', and Bhandarkar has not been able to shake off the influence of that rendering and still clings to the meaning 'honour', in the sense of honour done by Vikramāditya to Vishṇuvardhana, though he ignores the prefix 'prati'.

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[1] *D.K.D.*, 497; also *I.A.*, ii.

[2] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XI, 234, 244, 269-70.

[3] *E.H.D.*, 3, p. 150.

I suggest that 'upacāra' here means 'attendance', the attendance of Vikramāditya's servants on the emperor, and 'prati' has the repetitive force; so that the whole word means 'at every attendance'. The speech regarding the Hoysala is that which Vikramāditya's servants addressed to him every time they were in attendance on him, reminding him to beware of the Hoysala who was the most difficult to control of all his feudatory kings. If the speech is put into the mouth of Vikramāditya, as Bhandarkar does, it becomes difficult to say to whom it is addressed. I would therefore render the verse as follows: 'Who is being often reminded to King Paramārdideva by his servants every time they attend on him saying "beware of the Hoysala who of all princes is impossible to secure".' This is a picturesque way of depicting the relation between the suzerain and his over-mighty vassal; it might not be literally true, but has its substantial justification in the known facts of history. And this verse attests not friendliness between the two as Fleet thought, but rather implacable enmity. In fact, Vikramāditya did everything he could to checkmate the designs of Vishṇuvardhana, and himself assumed the title of Vishṇuvardhana to emphasize the subordinate relation of the Hoysala to him. That among Vishṇuvardhana's inscriptions some acknowledge the suzerainty of the Chāḷukya emperor does not by any means invalidate our interpretation of the verse and its implications.[1] There is no lack of direct clashes between the Hoysala forces and imperial troops as in the battle of Kaṇṇegal in A.D. 1118.[2]

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

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[1] *B.K.*, 96 of 1929-30.

[2] *E.C.*, II, 73 (59); 125 (45).

REVIEWS

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF GUJARAT (INCLUDING KATHIAWAR),

by H. D. Sankalia. Pp. xiv+267+App. 110. With 41 plates. Published by Natwarlal & Co., 361 Hornby Road, Bombay. Price Rs.15.

In this sumptuous and well-documented volume which secured for its author the Doctorate degree of London University, he has attempted 'to study the entire archaeological material, prehistoric as well as historic, of Gujarat and Kathiawar, especially with a view to correlating the monuments of both these regions with their epigraphs from the early historical times to the end of the fourteenth century'. In the result he claims to have traced 'the antiquity and evolution of architecture, sculpture, cults, iconography, epigraphy, numismatics, administration, society and religion in the [*sic*] pre-Muslim Gujarat and Kathiawar over a period of about 1,600 years'. A perusal of this work is enough to convince us that the author has, on the whole, succeeded remarkably well in his attempt. This verdict is, however, subject to some important limitations caused by the necessities of the situation. We may first mention the author's complete silence (except for a few references in the Introduction) to the prehistoric archaeology of Gujarat. In the second place, as he frankly admits, because of the impossibility of tracing the relation between the monuments and the epigraphs for the most part, he had perforce to classify the former somewhat arbitrarily according to dynastic periods based mainly upon grounds of style.

The present work consists of five Parts dealing successively with *Geography* and *History*, *Architecture* and *Sculpture*, *Cults* and *Iconography*, *Epigraphy* and *Numismatics*, *Administration*, *Society* and *Religion*, and it concludes with a chapter called *Gujarat and Indian Culture*. This is followed by seven maps illustrating the findspots of inscriptions and coins, the location of monuments and the trade-routes, and a series of plates illustrating the architecture and sculpture of Gujarat. Among the Appendices are included a complete list of inscriptions classified according to dynasties (Appendix A), genealogical tables of ruling dynasties (App. B), place-names found in the inscriptions (App. D), *Gotra* names with names of *Vedas*, place of residence, etc. of Brahmans mentioned in the inscriptions (App. E). Appendix I on Gujarat temples states that they may be classified under the *Vesara* style according to the improved interpretation of the traditional classification by Gravely and Ramachandran. Appendix L contains a good bibliography arranged under appropriate heads. Four separate Indices under the captions 'Administrative terms', 'Architectural and other terms', 'Classical books' and 'General' bring this highly useful volume to a close. The paper, print and get-up are all that can be desired in these abnormal times.

It is impossible in the course of a short book-review to deal with all the important points treated in this volume of detailed and painstaking research. But we may offer a few observations. In the chapter on *Architecture* the author gives an exhaustive account (based largely on the works of Burgess and Cousens) of the Gujarat monuments arranged in three chronological periods (Ancient, Early Mediaeval, and Mediaeval). He gives good grounds for disproving (p. 48) Burgess' view that a group of early caves at Junagarh were Buddhist, holding that they were Jain. Again, he seems to be on firm ground when disproving Cousens' view of derivation of the Gop temple-type from Kashmir (pp. 57–9), though his own suggestion of Gandhāra influence by way of Sind is admittedly inconclusive. It is, again, unfortunate that he has not found it possible to give an adequate account of the group of Jaina temples at Satrunjaya in Kathiawar, not to speak of those of Mount Abu in Rajputana. Finally, one could have wished that his description of the evolution of architectural parts and *motifs* (Ch. III–IV), full and detailed as it is, had been illustrated with diagrams somewhat on the lines of Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil's *Archeologie du Sud de l'Inde*.

The chapter on *Cults* contains what may be called a complete iconographic survey of the temples with reference to their cult-images, images on door-lintels and niches and so forth. It is interesting to find mention (p. 139) in this connection of a twelfth century temple of the goddess Śītalāmātā so well known in Bengal. The chapter on *Iconography* contains a very valuable account of the types of extant Brahmanical images with their various forms or *avatāras* along with the images of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and their *Parivāra-devatās*. Of striking interest is the fact (pp. 153-4) that no temples exclusively dedicated to Kṛṣṇa exist in Gujarat, although we have a number of scenes depicted from his life, including a few specimens of Kāliya-mardana first identified by the author. Notable also is the author's classification (p. 163) of the extant Sūrya images into three types, namely, (1) purely Caulukyan, (2) so-called Rajputana type, and (3) mixed. We have also a few figures of Gaṅgā differing from the Gupta type, but not one of Yamunā (p. 165).

In the chapter on *Epigraphy*, the author deals exhaustively with the material and size, paleography, era, style and matter, and seal-emblems of the inscriptions. His statement in this connection (p. 176), namely, that the 'classical style in *Praśasti* is heralded by the Skandagupta inscription' is, however, belied by the Girnar rock inscription of Rudradāman, not to speak of the Allahabad *Praśasti* of Samudragupta, the Nasik *Praśasti* of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī, and the Hathigumphā inscription of Khāravela, to which Bühler drew our attention long ago in a famous paper quoted by the author in the same context. The chapter on *Numismatics* gives a detailed account of Gujarat coinage from the earliest times. It is remarkable that coins of early as well as late mediaeval periods are almost conspicuous by their absence (p. 190). It is difficult to agree with the author's view (p. 187) offered in this connection, namely, that 'the Roman influence must be very great', for, as he himself admits, the Romans left little influence on the local coinage, except perhaps in the case of Nahapāna's coins.

The chapter on *Administration* gives a connected account of administrative connections prevailing in the country from the Maurya to the Caulukya times. But the author might have referred to the detailed notices by the present reviewer (*Agrarian System in Ancient India*, pp. 44-5, 51, 56-7, 65-6) of the fiscal conditions in that region at different periods of its ancient history. In particular, he might have mentioned the reviewer's suggested interpretations of the terms *udranga*, *uparikara*, *daśāparādha*, *Brāhmaṇa-viṁśati*, *dhruvādhikaraṇika* and *anutpannasamudgrāhaka* of the Maitraka grants, the interpretation of the unit of 84 villages and its subdivisions in some Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Cālukya inscriptions, not to speak of the references in the *Moha-parājaya* drama to Kumārapala's prohibition of gambling and drinking as well as discontinuance of confiscation of heirless property.

In the chapter on *Society* the author has proved from epigraphic evidence the preponderance of Yajurvedic and Sāmavedic Brāhmaṇas over the Ṛgvedic and Ātharvaṇa, and he has traced back the Āśvalāyana Caraṇa to the seventh century A.D. (pp. 205-6). In the same context interesting data are given about the antiquity of the Brahmaṅ sub-castes, as also the status of the Vanias and the Kāyasthas (pp. 207-8, 210-11).

The chapter on *Religion* contains an admirably complete summary (based on the evidence of inscriptions and monuments) of the prevailing forms of the Brahmanical religion as well as Buddhism and Jainism. Śaivism seems to have enjoyed

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the longest and most prosperous career and it later became the leading religion according to the authority of Brahmanical and Jaina chronicles. Among the Śaiva sects mention is made not only of the familiar Pāśupatas, but also of two rare names, viz. Āmarddaka and Cāpala (pp. 223–5). On the other hand, the monumental and literary references to Vaiṣṇavism are surprisingly scanty. In view of the Pauranic association of Dvārakā with Kṛṣṇa, it is strange to find only two episodes of his career (Kāliya-mardana and Govardhana-dhāraṇa) represented by archaeology (pp. 227-8). As the author tells us elsewhere, the Kṛṣṇa cult cannot be traced back earlier than the twelfth or thirteenth century.

In the concluding chapter, the author gives us a striking comparison and contrast between the culture of Gujarat as evidenced by archaeology and that of its neighbouring lands. As regards the branch of literature, the complete absence of material for the ancient and early mediaeval periods stands out in marked contrast with the sudden burst of a rich Sanskrit and Prakrit as well as vernacular literature in the late mediaeval times (pp. 249–52). Under the head *Architecture*, the author concludes from an elaborate comparison that the Śikhara style of Gujarat temples is different from that of the Paramāra, late Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Haihaya, Candella and Cālukya shrines, while resembling that of Cutch and Rajputana (p. 259). Summing up the evidence in the last paragraph, the author divides Gujarat culture into two periods. From early historical times down to the tenth century A.D. it was purely receptive. With the acquisition of independence thereafter, its culture became creative in every branch of national life—in art and architecture, literature, religion: in a word, it achieved a cultural unity which gave it its later individuality (p. 259).

We have noticed a few slips which do not detract in any way from the value of the present work which is bound to remain the standard authority on the subject for a long time to come. The interpretation (p. 229) of a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription to the effect that Buddhism was promulgated in Southern Gujarat by Ceylonese monks has been proved to be wrong. In Appendix A, p. 1, Rāṣṭrīya Tuṣāspha is a slip.

U. N. GHOSAL.

POST-VEDIC ARYANS: THE YĀDAVAS (Section III), reprinted from the Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa (Part I—The Prehistoric West Coast), pp. 99–136, with Appendices, by DR. A. D. PUSALKAR.

The learned author is to be congratulated on the publication of this interesting and thought-provoking treatise. The first chapter deals with the history of the Yādavas up to the time of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The second chapter is very important as it deals with the vexed problem of the historicity of Kṛṣṇa. The author has taken great pains to collect all the literary and epigraphic evidences relating to the problem. The third chapter deals with the fortunes of the Yādavas during the Bhārata War and briefly narrates their later history. Two genealogical tables are also given at the end of the textual portion. They contain names of kings with probable dates. The Appendix I gives the genealogy of the Yādavas up to the Bhārata War while the later Yādavas are dealt with in the Appendix II. It is needless to add that the Yadus or Yādavas were one of the most important tribes of ancient India. According to the Purāṇas, Yadu, the eldest son of Yayāti, founded the Yādava dynasty. Yadu had four or five sons of whom Kroṣṭu and Sahasrajit were important. The descendants of Sahasrajit were named after his grandson Haihaya. The Haihayas comprised five families, the Vītihotras, Śāryātas, Bhojas, Avantis and Tuṇḍikeras. Kroṣṭu's descendants were particularly known as the Yādavas. The allied tribes of the Yādavas seem to have held sway over a large tract of country comprising Rājputānā, Mālwā, Gujarat and Deccan. The various Yādava tribes like the Bhojas, Andhakas, Vṛṣṇis, Sātvatas, Mādhavas, Daśārṇas, Āhukas, Kukuras, etc. were divided in their allegiance during the Bhārata War. The majority headed by Kṛṣṇa sided with the Pāṇḍavas. Kṛtavarman and the Bhojas joined Duryodhana. Some years after the Bhārata War the Yādavas were ruined by fratricidal strife and Kṛṣṇa died. They abandoned Dvārakā which was encroached by the sea and they retreated northward. Their subsequent history is fragmentary and the cursory treatment includes the Yādavas or more aptly the Sūrasenas of Mathurā, the Yādavas of Central and Western India and the Yādavas of Devagiri or Daulatabad. Some of the recent publications, e.g. 'Tribes in Ancient India' by Dr. B. C. Law, ought to have been included in the list of Abbreviations.

T. N. CHAKRAVARTTY.

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FORMS, MERITS AND DEFECTS OF AŚOKA'S INSCRIPTIONS

By B. M. BARUA

Kauṭilya (Arthaśāstra, II. 10) distinguishes between the following seven forms of royal writs (*śāsanāni*): (1) *prajñāpana-lekha*, public notification, 'writ of information'; (2) *ājñālekha*, 'writ of command', orders, official instructions; (3) *paridāna-lekha*, 'writ of remission'; (4) *niśṛṣṭi-lekha*, 'writ of licence'; (5) *prāvṛttika-lekha* 'writ of guidance'; (6) *pratilekha*, 'writ of reply'; (7) *sarvatraga-lekha*, 'writ for wide circulation'.

The 'writ of information' is defined as an epistolary form of writing by which the person or persons concerned are informed of the contents of a message to be faithfully delivered with the words—'Thus saith the king' (*anena vijñāpitaṃ 'Evamāha'*).

The 'writ of command' is a form which contains the king's orders, either for rewards or punishments, particularly meant for the officers (*bhartur ājñā bhavet yatra nigrahānugrahān prati, viśeṣena tu bhṛtyeṣu*).

The third is meant for 'the bestowal of honour for deserving merit', either in the manner of a specific relief or as gifts.

The fourth denotes a form to be adopted in announcing to the classes of people or to the localities concerned certain special privilege (*anugraha*) by way of remission, granted in obedience to the king's order (*anugraho yo nṛpater nirdeśāt*).

The fifth denotes rather a form meant for granting licence or permission by word or deed, which deserves therefore to be treated rather as a verbal order (*vācika-lekha*).

The sixth is a form meant for timely giving guidance as to how to provide against or ward off possible and impending calamities.

The seventh is to be adopted in sending suitable reply to a letter in accordance with the king's orders.

The eighth represents a form to be adopted in issuing general directions to all official agents concerned in matters of general welfare and public safety.

Going by Kauṭilya's classification and definition of the different forms of royal writs, the three Barabar Hill-cave Inscriptions must be put in the category of *paridāna-lekha*, and the second half of the Lumbini Pillar Inscription in that of *parihāra-lekha*. The concluding portion of P.E. IV granting, as it does, three days' respite to criminals condemned to death by court sentence deserves the name of *paridāna* and *parihāra* as well as of *niśṛṣṭi*. R.E. VIII and Lumbini Pillar and Nigali Sagar Inscriptions that are, on the whole, mere records of the king's pious tours and works, carry no other force than that of writs of public information, even without the words 'Thus saith the king'.

The Schism Pillar Edict is typically an *ājñālekha* or writ of command, in as far as the Buddhist schismatics go, and a *sarvatraga-lekha* as regards the general directions issued to the *Mahāmātras* concerned. Similarly, though the Queen's Edict, when judged by its content, is just a *paridāna-lekha*, according to its technical form, it is just an example of *sarvatraga*.

The First Separate Rock Edict which is addressed to the city-judiciary of Tosali and Samāpā is an *ājñālekha* beyond any doubt. As for S.R.E. II, it contains certain directions to his official representatives as to the general policy to be followed in dealing with the frontier peoples and 'frontagers', whence it deserves the name of Kauṭilya's *sarvatraga*.

The text embodied in the Minor Rock Edict is by Aśoka's own nomenclature, *dhaṃmasāvana* or proclamation of piety. R.E. II, R.E. XIV, P.E. VI and P.E. VII deserve the same appellation by their contents. They are *sarvatraga* in the literal sense of the term, though not according to Kauṭilya's definition.

According to Aśoka, P.E. V stands as a typical instance of his *dhaṃma-niyama* or regulation of piety. A regulation is in its substance an *ājñālekha* as well as a *sarvatraga* under Kauṭilya's definition. R.E. I, R.E. III, R.E. V, R.E. VI, R.E. VII, R.E. XII, R.E. XIII, P.E. IV and Bhabru Edict partake all of the character of a *dhaṃma-niyama*. R.E. IV, R.E. IX, R.E. X, R.E. XI, P.E. I, P.E. II and P.E. III just inculcate Aśoka's *dhaṃmānusathini* or principles of piety.

But all as engraved appear as *prajñāpana-lekha*, writs of information, or what Jayaswal would call public notifications.

Viewing Aśoka's records in the light of Kauṭilya's forms of royal writs, Jayaswal has reasonably doubted the propriety of the name of 'Edicts' applied by European scholars to them. Judged by Kauṭilya's prescriptions, they are either of these two descriptions, public notifications and proclamations, but not edicts.

By definition an edict is an order proclaimed by authority. If we adhere to this definition, the name of edict is not applicable to the bulk of Aśoka's records. But liberally construed, most of the records are edicts in the sense that whether apparently moral instructions or public proclamations, they tacitly carry with them the will and authority of the sovereign to enforce obedience to the principles of piety, as inculcated, emphasized and enforced by Aśoka.

Aśoka's edicts fulfil almost all the thirteen purposes (*arthāḥ*) of royal writs mentioned by Kauṭilya, viz. *nindā* (condemnation), *praśaṃsā* (commendation), *pṛcchā* (interrogation), *ākhyānam* (narration), *arthanā* (beseeching), *pratyākhyānam* (refusal), *upalambha* (censure), *pratiṣedha* (prohibition), *codanā* (urging), *sāntvam* (conciliation), *abhyavapatti* (promise of help), *bhartsanam* (threat), and *anunaya* (persuasion). These may be illustrated as follows:—

1. Condemnation: R.E. IX—'Womenfolk perform many and diverse, minor and meaningless rites.'
   S.R.E. I—'Someone gets indeed at this, (but) he, too, does a part, not the whole of it.'
2. Commendation: R.E. I—'There are, however, certain festive gatherings approved of as good.'
   R.E. III—'Good is respectful attention to mother and father.'
3. Interrogation: P.E. II—*Kiyaṃ cu dhaṃmeti?* 'What is piety?'
4. Narration: R.E. III—*Hevaṃ āha*, 'Thus said'.
5. Beseeching—S.R.E. I—'You better see to this.'
6. Refusal—S.R.E. I—'These propensties may not be mine.'
7. Censure—P.E. III—'These are the things that lead to evil.'
   S.R.E. I—'You do not get as far as this matter goes.'
8. Prohibition—R.E. I—'Here no sacrifice shall be performed by immolating a living thing whatsoever, and no festive gathering held.'
9. Urging—R.E. VI—'This is to be reported to me in all places, at all times.'
10. Conciliation—S.R.E. I—'To me all men are like my progeny.'
11. Promise of help—P.E. VII—'These and many other chief officers are occupied with the dispensing of charities.'
12. Threat—R.E. XIII—'They will be ashamed of their conduct and not get killed.'
13. Persuasion—R.E. XIII—*ta pi anuneti anunijhāpeti*, 'Them, too, he entreats and persuades to think.'

According to Kauṭilya, the qualities of composition of a writ (*lekhasampat*) consist in proper arrangement of subject-matters (*arthakrama*), relevancy (*sambandha*), completeness (*paripūrṇatā*), sweetness (*mādhuryam*), dignity (*audāryam*), and lucidity or clearness (*spashṭatvam*), and its faults or drawbacks (*lekhadoṣāḥ*) lie in ugliness (*akāntiḥ*), contradiction (*vyāghātaḥ*), repetition (*punaruktam*), bad grammar (*apaśabdaḥ*), and misarrangement (*samplava*).

The first quality, called *arthakrama*, is no other than what is held out as the essential feature of a discourse of the Buddha having a good beginning, a good middle, and a good end (*ādi kalyāṇaṃ, majjhe kalyāṇaṃ, pariyosāne kalyāṇaṃ*). Such texts of Aśoka as R.E. I, R.E. IV, R.E. V, R.E. VI, R.E. IX, R.E. XII, S.R.E. I, P.E. IV, P.E. V, and P.E. VII are conspicuous with this quality of presentation.

The second quality of *sambandha* is what the Buddha insisted on as *pubbāparānusandhi*, consistency or harmonious linking of that which precedes with that which follows. Both relevancy of statements and consistency of thoughts are possessed in abundance by the texts of Aśoka. Sometimes a chain of argument on a particular question runs through consecutive texts, e.g. R.E. IX, R.E. X and R.E. XI.

The third quality of *paripūrṇatā* or completeness is just the opposite of what Aśoka regrets as *asamati* (*asamāpti*) or incompleteness (R.E. XIV). Kauṭilya's definition of completeness is fully brought out in the Pāli canonical description of the Buddha's mode of presentation of a text of Discourse: *sātthaṃ savyañjanaṃ kevalaparipuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāseti*, 'It expresses an idea of unalloyed holy life through a statement, complete in all respects, replete with sense and well-articulated sounds.' The ten tests of well-articulated sounds, mentioned by Buddhaghosa, are:

sithila-dhanitañ ca dīgha-rassaṃ,
lahuka-garukañ ca niggahītaṃ,
sambandhaṃ vā vavatthitaṃ vimuttaṃ,
dasadhā vyañjanabuddhiyā pabhedo ti.

'There is maintained the tenfold distinction between high and low accents, long and short syllables, heavy and light measures, nasals, combined, properly placed and free sounds.'

The remaining three qualities of sweetness, dignity and lucidity are fully covered by those by which the Buddha sought to characterize a noble form of speech (Brahmajāla Sutta). *Pharusa-vācaṃ pahāya . . . yā sā vācā neḷā kaṇṇa-sukhā pemanīyā hadayaṅgamā porī bahujana-kantā bahujana-manāpā*, 'Avoiding harshness, that form of speech which is faultless, pleasant to the ears, captivating, appealing to the heart, urban, aggreable to many, charming to many'.

In this connection Buddhaghosa points out the distinction between *kaṇṇasukhā* and *pemanīyā* by the sweetness of expression (*vyañjana-madhuratā*) and the sweetness of sense (*atthamadhuratā*).

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Aśoka himself claims the sweetness of sense (*athasamadhuratā*, R.E. XIV) as a distinctive quality of his edicts.

As for the sweetness of expression and winning force, Aśoka records thus his preference for a person endowed with these qualities: *e akhakhase* (*aphalusaṃ*) *acaṃḍe sakhinālaṃbhe hosati* (S.R.E. I), 'he who will be found to be not of harsh speech and fierce nature, but possessed of winsome cordiality'.

Kauṭilya's *agrāmya* corresponds to the Buddha's *porī*, meaning that which is urban, polite, dignified, chaste. Shama Sastri thinks that by *agrāmya* Kauṭilya banned 'colloquial words', which is far from the case. All that he meant was a language avoiding that which is uncouth, ugly, vulgar, slang.

Aśoka's texts abound with colloquialisms or current popular idioms glowing with lucidity and dignity. As for the use of colloquial words, the followers of the Buddha had a clear mandate from the Master in whose judgement it was sheer dogmatism to ban a local word or expression because it was not in vogue in another locality. There are various words, for instance, current in different localities for one and the same thing, say, 'bowl': *pāti*, *patta*, *vittha*, *sarāva*, *dhāropa*, *poṇa*, and *pisila*. Each man thinks that his word is the only correct form of expression, whereas each local word is as good as another, provided that it denotes to a person precisely the thing for which it is meant. In this connection, as pointed out by Winternitz (History of Indian Lit., II, p. 603) and myself (Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves), the Buddha's direction is 'not to insist unduly on his own provincial dialect (*janapadanirutti*) and at the same time not to deviate from general linguistic usage' (Araṇavibhaṅga Sutta, Majjhima, III, p. 234f.). Consistently with this the Buddha disapproves the idea of putting his words in the *Chandasa* or Vedic Sanskrit, governed by the law of Metre and Rhythm, and enjoins that these should be studied by each follower 'in his own dialect' (*sakāya niruttiyā*), 'each in his own language' (Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 603; Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, S.B.E. XX, p. 150f.). Buddhaghosa understands by *sakanirutti*, 'Māgadhī, the language spoken by the Buddha', as distinguished from 101 spoken dialects of the time. If the expression were *sakāya sakāya*, there would have been no ground of dispute over the interpretation of the Buddha's injunction. But from the context, it is clear that the Buddhist brethren who were recruits from different nationalities, different communities, different castes, and different families, were apt to corrupt the Buddha's words by going to reproduce or represent them each in his own dialect (*sakāya niruttiyā Buddhavacanaṃ dūsenti*, Cullavagga, V. 33).

The intelligibility, lucidity and dignity of Aśoka's language need no comment. He was certainly aware of repetition (*punarukti*) as a defect of composition, which he has explained. As for grammatical irregularities (*apaśabda*), we need not rigidly apply the canon of Pāṇini or the standard of Pāli in adjudicating upon the composition of Asokan texts which follows its own grammar and idiom.

As for drawbacks, Aśoka in his R.E. XIV, has offered explanations for three of them, noticed in the previously published Rock Edicts. These are: (1) the impossibility of their promulgation all over his empire on account of its vastness; (2) the repetition of the same thing over and over again, justifiable only on the ground of sweetness of its meaning; and (3) the incompleteness of the records to be accounted for either by the comprehension of local circumstances, or by the consideration of other reasons, or by the fault of the *Lipikara*. R.E. XIII was precluded, for instance, from promulgation at Tosali and Samāpā owing to its unsuitability to Kalinga. But the preclusion of R.E. XI and R.E. XII was certainly due to an error of judgement on the part of *Lipikara* in Pāṭaliputra and his instructor.

The consideration of other reasons as an explanation of incompleteness is unintelligible otherwise than on the supposition that the engraving of the Rock Edicts was thought unnecessary in those parts of his empire where he had not to reckon with ruling peoples, alien and hostile to the Indo-Aryan religion and social system.

The errors due to the fault of the *Lipikara* consist generally in omissions of a few words, clauses, or sentences, or in mis-spellings. The omissions in one copy may now be easily supplied from another, which is fuller. The spelling mistakes may be rectified by means of a comparative study of the phonetic system and orthography of the language of a particular set. The usual Girnār word for *iha* is *idha*, but accidently we have *iloka* for *idhaloka* in R.E. XI. Here *iloka* is palpably a mis-spelling. In the case of Shahbazarhi, the word is *hida* (R.E. I) or *iha* (R.E. XIII), but in several edicts we get *ia*, which is undoubtedly a mis-spelling of *iha*. In discussing the phonetic distinction and orthography of each set, the philologist must beware of these minor errors due to the scribe-engraver's faults.

ANCIENT INDIAN GEOGRAPHY

By B. C. LAW

India known to the Buddhists as Jambudvīpa and to the Brahmins and Jains as Bharatavarṣa is counted as one of the seven dvīpas of the world. It was one of the nine varṣas or countries constituting the nine main divisions. Jambudvīpa figures in ancient literature as one of the four main continents with Sineru (Sumeru) in the centre. The eastern continent (Pubbavideha) is placed to the east of Sineru, the western continent (Aparagoyāna) to the west, the northern continent (Uttarakuru) to the north and the southern continent (Jambudvīpa) to the south.

Videha was the name of the place in Jambudvīpa where the people coming originally from Pubbavideha settled down. Aparānta was the name of the land which was settled down by the people coming originally from Aparagodāna or Aparagoyāna and the land where the people from Uttarakuru settled down became known as Kuru.[1]

The Sineru mountain is located in the middle of the nine varṣas of Jambudvīpa (seven according to the Jaina source, Jambudīvapaṇṇatti). To the south of Ilāvṛtavarṣa is the Niṣadha mountain range, and to the south of it is Harivarṣa, the country lying just to the north of Bhāratavarṣa. In between the two is the Himalayan mountain. The Himalayan range extends east and west over a distance of about 1,600 leagues. The slope of this range is like that of a bow with its string to the south.[2] The Himalayan range is divided into greater Himalaya and lesser Himalaya. The former extends eastwards up to the Bay of Bengal and the latter westwards and then southwards up to the sea below the Varṣadhara mountain, i.e. the Arabian Sea.

India is pictured in the Buddhist literature in the shape of a bullock-cart with its face towards the south. It is extended on the north.[3] The surface of India is one of the convex shape of the upper shell of a tortoise according to the Brāhmaṇa literature.[4] According to the Jaina account the Vindhya mountain range divides India into two halves, the northern half later called Āryāvarta and the southern half later called Dākṣiṇātya or Deccan.[5]

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[1] Papañcasūdanī, i, 484; Dhammapada Commentary, ii, 482.

[2] Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Chapter XIX.

[3] Dīgha Nikāya, ii, p. 235.

[4] Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Chapters 57 and 58.

[5] Jambudīva-Paṇṇatti, i, 12.

The Himalayan mountain which is also known as Himavanta, Himācala or Himavā is one of the seven mountain ranges that surround Gandhamādana.[1] According to the traditional description, it extends over a distance of 300,000 leagues and contains 84,000 peaks, the highest of them being 500 leagues. Here the length, the number and the altitude are fabulous. We have mention of seven great Himalayan lakes, e.g. Anotatta, Kannamuṇḍa, Rathakāra, Chaddanta, Kunāla, Mandākinī, and Sīhappapāta. Each of them is 50 leagues in length, breadth and depth. These lakes cannot be identified and the description of their length, breadth and depth seems to be mythical. According to the Buddhist account there were five hundred rivers, only ten of which were to be reckoned, the rest having an intermittent periodical flow.[2] Of the ten rivers the first five, e.g. Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū and Mahī, formed the Ganges group and the rest, Sindhu, Sarasvatī, Vetravatī, Vitaṃsā and Candrabhāgā, with the exception of the second, constituted the Sindhu group. Generally speaking, the first five flowed from the greater Himalaya and other five from the lesser range.

The Buddhists derive the name of the continent of Jambudvīpa from a Jambu tree[3] which seems to be imaginary. It is on account of this tree that the continent is also called Jambuvana and Jambusaṇḍa.[4] The continent extends over a distance of 10,000 leagues, of which 4,000 are covered by the seas, 3,000 by the Himalayas, and 3,000 only are inhabited by men. It contained as many as 84,000 towns.[5] According to the Buddhist account[6] the number of parks, groves, lakes, etc. in Jambudvīpa is trifling while numerous were the unfordable rivers, inaccessible mountains, etc.

According to the Jaina account the Bhāratavarṣa, which is situated to the south of the Himalayas and between the eastern and western seas, abounds in rivers, lakes, hills, dales, forests, trees, creepers, etc. It appears from the north like a bedstead and from the south like a bow. It is divided into six portions.[7]

The origin of the Ganges is traced to a lake called Bindusara which is situated in the middle of the three peaks, Kailāsa, Maināka and Hiraṇyaśṛṅga.[8] According to the Jaina account it is connected with a flow through the eastern outlet of a great lake in the lesser Himalayan range called Mahāpadmahrada and that of Sindhu with a flow through its western outlet. The description of the lake with four outlets is similar to the Buddhist account of the lake Anotatta to which it refers the origin of the five great rivers flowing eastwards. Anotatta, too, is like the Jainapadmahrada, a lotus lake with four outlets on its four sides, from each of which flows a river. The four rivers that flow, according to the Jaina account, from the four outlets of the lotus lake are Gaṅgā, Sindhu, Rohitā and Harikāntā.[1]

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[1] Paramatthajotikā, ii, 66.

[2] Milinda, p. 114.

[3] Vinaya, i, p. 30; Samantapāsādikā, i, p. 119.

[4] Sutta Nipāta, V, 552; Paramatthajotikā, ii, p. 121.

[5] Cf. Jātaka, iv, p. 84.

[6] Aṅguttara, i, p. 35.

[7] Jambudīva-Paṇṇatti, i, 9.

[8] Mahābhārata, 6. 43, 44.

The five rivers Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū and Mahī have originated from the Anotatta lake.[2] The river which flows out through the south channel encircles the lake three times under the name of Āvaṭṭa-gaṅgā, then as Kaṇha-gaṅgā it flows straight for 60 leagues along the surface of a rock, comes into violent contact with a vertical rock and is thrown upwards as a column of water. This column known as Ākāśa-gaṅgā flows through the air for 60 leagues, falls on to the rock Tiyaggala excavating it to a depth of 50 leagues, thus forming a lake which is called Tiyaggala tank; then the river under the name of Bahala-gaṅgā flows through a chasm in the rock for 60 leagues, then under the name of Ummagga-gaṅgā,[3] through a tunnel for a further 60 leagues and finally coming upon an oblique rock, divides into five streams forming the five rivers.

The name of Bhāratavarṣa is derived from King Bharata whose sovereignty was established over it.[4] The six divisions in northern India and three divisions in southern, eastern, and western and middle are all internal divisions of India proper. The nine parts of Varāha-Mihira conforming to the centre and eight of the ten points of the compass: eastern, southern, western, northern, south-eastern, south-western, north-western and north-eastern are all internal. The nine divisions in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa are all internal.

The system of classification adopted in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa is as follows: (1) those belonging to the middle country; (2) those to northern region; (3) those to eastern India; (4) those to Deccan; (5) those to western India; (6) those to Vindhya region; and (7) those which are mountainous.[5] The Mahābhārata[6] refers to eastern, northern, southern, western and the mountainous regions. According to Hiuen Tsang, the five traditional divisions of India are enumerated thus: northern, southern, eastern, western and central.[1] The Bhuvanakoṣa of the Purāṇas mentions the following divisions: middle country, northern, eastern, Deccan, and western. According to Rājaśekhara,[2] to the east of Benares is the eastern India, to the south of Māhiṣmatī is the Deccan, to the west of Devasabhā is the western India. To the north (better north-west) is the northern (better north-western) India. And the tract lying between Vinaśana and Prayāga and between the Ganges and Jumna is the Inland (same as midland or middle country).

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[1] Jambudīva-Paṇṇatti, iv, 34, 35.

[2] Papañcasūdanī, Sinhalese Ed., ii, p. 586; Manorathapūraṇī, ii, pp. 759-60; Paramatthajotikā, ii, pp. 437–9.

[3] Cf. Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 253.

[4] Mahābhārata, Bhīṣmaparva, iii, 41.

[5] Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Chap. 57.

[6] Bhīṣmaparva, Chap. 9.

Cunningham explains the geographical significance of Hiuen Tsang's 'Five Indies' in the following manner: (1) northern India comprising the Punjab proper including Kashmir and the adjoining Hill States with the whole of eastern Afghanistan beyond the Indus and the present Cis-Sutlez States to the west of the Sarasvatī river; (2) western India, Sind and western Rajputana with Cutch and Gujrat and a portion of the adjoining coast on the lower course of the Narmadā river; (3) central India, the whole of the Gangetic provinces from Thāneswar to the head of the Delta and from the Himalayan mountains to the banks of the Narmadā; (4) eastern India, Assam and Bengal proper including the whole of the Gangetic Delta together with Sambalpur, Orissa and Ganjam; and (5) southern India, the whole of the peninsula from Nāsik on the west and Ganjam on the east to Cape Comorin on the south including the modern districts of Berar and Teliṅgāna, Mahārāṣṭra and the Konkan with the separate States of Hyderabad, Mysore and Travancore, or very nearly the whole of the peninsula to the south of the Narmadā and the Mahānadī rivers.

According to the Buddhist account the broad divisions of India are six in number, e.g. (1) middle country (*Madhyadeśa*),[3] (2) Himalayan region (*Himavanta*),[4] (3) north-western region (*Uttarāpatha*),[5] (4) Deccan (*Dakkhiṇāpatha*),[6] (5) eastern India (*Pubbanta*), and (6) western India (*Aparānta*).

The early Buddhist literature mentions the sixteen great countries of India, Kāśī, Kośala, Aṅga, Magadha, Vajjī, Malla, Cetī, Vaṃsa, Kuru, Pañcāla, Maccha, Śūrasena, Assaka, Avantī, Gandhāra, and Kāmboja,[7] each named after the people who settled there or colonized it. The first fourteen are included in the middle country and the last two in the northern India. The Jaina literature gives a somewhat different list of sixteen containing Aṅga,

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[1] Beal, Records, i, p. 70; Cunningham, Ancient Geography, p. 136.

[2] Kāvyamīmāṃsā, p. 93.

[3] Vinaya, i, p. 197; Jātaka, i, pp. 49–80.

[4] Mahāvaṃsa, xii, 41.

[5] Vinaya, iii, p. 6; Samantapāsādikā, i, p. 175.

[6] Vinaya, i, 195-96.

[7] Aṅguttara, i, p. 213; iv, pp. 251, 256 and 260.

Vaṅga, Magaḍha, Malaya, Mālava, Accha, Vaccha, Koccha, Pāḍha, Lāḍha, Vajjī, Moli (Malla), Kāśī, Kośala, Avaha and Sambhuttara.

Middle country: The middle country has been described in Baudhāyana's Dharmasūtra as lying to the east of the region where the river Sarasvatī disappears, to the west of the Black forest,[1] to the north of the Paripātra mountain and to the south of the Himalayas.[2] The eastern boundary excluded not only Bengal but also Behar which in ancient days included the whole of Magadhan country, the Buddhist land *par excellence*. The middle country, according to Manu, extends from the Himalayas in the north to the Vindhyas in the south and from Vinaśana in the west to Prayāg in the east. It is otherwise known as Inland which extends up to Benares in the east. According to an early Buddhist text[3] it extends in the east to the town of Kajaṅgala[4] beyond which was the city of Mahāsālā, in the south-east to the river Sarasvatī, in the south to the town of Setakaṇṇika, in the west to the Brahmin district of Thūna,[5] and in the north to the Uśīradhvaja mountain.[6] The eastern boundary is extended till further so as to include Puṇḍavardhana, which in ancient times included Varendra roughly identical with north Bengal.

Thus we see that the definition of the middle country was not the same at all times and with all the authorities. According to Manu, middle country is a tract between Vinaśana and Prayāg while in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa it extends so far east as to include Kāśī and Kośala. The list of six principal cities in an early Buddhist text[7]: Campā, Rājagaha, Sāvatthī, Sāketa, Kosambī and Bārāṇasī, suggests an extension which included Kāśī, Kośala and Vatsa in the west but excluded Avantī and Śūrasena. These two countries have been expressly excluded from the middle country according to the Vinaya Piṭaka, an early Buddhist text.

The seven representative rivers of this division are mentioned in one list as Bāhukā, Adhikakkā, Gayā, Sundarikā, Sarassatī, Payāga, and Bāhumatī[8] and in another list as Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarabhū, Sarassatī, Aciravatī, Mahī, and Mahānadī.[9] The Doṇa and Timbaru are mentioned along with the Bāhukā and Gayā.[1] Bāhukā is evidently the same river as Vāhudā in the Mahābhārata[2] which the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa connects with the Himalayas along with Gaṅgā and Yamunā.[3] The Adhikakkā remains yet to be identified. The Gayā is no other than Phalgu river forming just a united flow of the Nerañjarā of Buddhist fame and the Mahānadī (Mohanā) of Brahmanical fame. The Sundarikā was a sacred river in Kośala. The Sarassatī is identified with famous Sarasvatī which taking its rise in the Himalayas disappears at Vinaśana. The Payāga must have represented the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā at Prayāg. The Bhāgīrathī-gaṅgā flowed through Pañcāla dividing it into northern and southern Kampilla, the capital of the latter standing on its right bank. The Yamunā served as a boundary between Śūrasena and Kośala and further down, between Vaṃsa and Kośala; Madhurā, the capital of Śūrasena and Kosambī standing on its right bank. The Sarabhū is to be identified with Sarayū on the left bank of which stands Ayodhyā, the ancient capital of north Kośala. The Aciravatī is modern Rapti on the right bank of which stood Śrāvastī, the last capital of Kośala.[4] The Mahī is a tributary of the Ganges.

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[1] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, li and xli, f.n. 1.

[2] Baudhāyana, i, 1, 2, 9, etc.

[3] Vinaya Piṭaka, Vol. V, pp. 12-13.

[4] Identical with Ka-Chu-Wen-Kilo of Yuan Chwang which lay at a distance of above 400 li east from Campā. Cf. Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, ii, 429 and Jātaka, iii, 226-27 and iv, p. 310.

[5] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, Intro. xliii, f.n. 2.

[6] It may be said to be identical with Uśīragiri, a mountain to the north of Kankhal, I.A., 1905, 179.

[7] Dīgha, ii, 146.

[8] Jātaka, v, p. 389.

[9] Visuddhimagga, i, p. 10.

The Mahā-gaṅgā was either the confluence of the Nerañjarā and the Mahānadī or the Sone river.[5] To the east beyond Prayāga the united flow of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā bore the name of Gaṅgā which formed a boundary between the kingdoms of Kāśī and Magadha. Further down it formed a boundary between Videha and Vesālī on the north and Magadha,[6] Aṅga, and Kajaṅgala on the south, on the right bank of which stand Pātaliputra, the last capital of Magadha, and Campā, the capital of Aṅga. The Anomā, Rohiṇī and Kakutthā were the three minor rivers of the middle country. The first river formed a boundary between the territories of the Śakyas and the Mallas, the second river divided the Śākya and Koliya territories.[7] Cunningham identifies the river Rohiṇī with the Rowai or Rohwaini, a small stream which joins the Rapti at Gorakhpur.[8] The third river called Kakutthā was a river near Kuśīnārā[9] which appears to have formed at one point at least a boundary between the two Malla territories. The river Campā formed a boundary between Aṅga in the east and Magadha in the west.[1] It is probably the same river as one to the west of Campānagar and Nathnagar in the suburb of the town of Bhagalpur. The Kośikī (Kuśī) is a branch of the Ganges.[2] The Migasammatā was a river which rising in the Himalayas flowed into the Ganges.[3] The Hiraññavatī is the little Gandak and the same as Ajitavatī near Kuśīnārā which flows through the district of Gorakhpur about eight miles west of the great Gandak and falls into the Ghogra (Sarayū). The Sappinī (modern Pañcāna) was a small stream at Rājagaha. The Sutanu was a small stream at Śrāvastī which must have fallen into the Aciravatī. The Sarāvatī or Saraṇavatī, probably modern Suvarṇarekhā formed the south-east boundary of the middle country. The Vetravatī (modern Betwā in Bhopal) is an affluent of the Yamunā on the bank of which stood the city of Vetravatī, and further south-west stands Bhilsā or ancient Vidīśā.[4]

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[1] Jātaka, v, p. 388f.

[2] iii, 84, 67.

[3] Chap. 57.

[4] Law, Śrāvastī in Indian Literature, p. 9.

[5] Manorathapūraṇī (Sinhalese Ed.), ii, p. 761f.

[6] Majjhima Nikāya, Vatthūpamasutta.

[7] Jātaka, v, p. 412.

[8] Archaeological Survey of India, xii, 190f.

[9] Dīgha, ii, 129, 134f.; Udāna, viii, 5.

The Gayāśīsa, the principal hill of Gayā, is the modern Brahmayoni and identical with what is called Gayāśira in the Purāṇas. Its shape is like that of an elephant and hence it is so called.[5] The Mahābhārata speaks of twenty-five hills of Gayā including the Gayāśira but the early Buddhist texts ignore all but the Gayāśīsa. The hills called Prāgbodhi by Hiuen Tsang[6] on the other side of the Gayā river are vaguely referred to.

A set of hills under the name of Khalatika finds mention in the Mahābhārata, Barabar Hill Cave Inscriptions of Aśoka and Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya.[7] There were five hills encircling the city of Rājagaha named Isigili, Vebhāra, Paṇḍava, Vepulla and Gijjhakūṭa.[8] The Vebhāra and Paṇḍava stood side by side. The Vipula is the same as Vaihāravipula.

The Jains following a much later tradition of their own name locate the seven hills thus: 'If one enters Rājgīr from the north, the hill lying to the right is Vaibhāragiri; that lying to the left is Vipulagiri; the one which stands at right angles to the Vipula and runs southward parallel to the Vaibhāra is Ratnagiri; the one forming the eastern extension of the Ratnagiri is Chaṭhāgiri; and the hill standing next to Chaṭhāgiri is Śailagiri. The one opposite to the Chaṭhāgiri is Udayagiri; that lying to the south of Ratnagiri and the west of the Udayagiri is Soṇagiri. The Vaibhāragiri extends southward and westward ultimately to form the western entrance of Rājgīr with the Soṇagiri.'[9]

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[1] Jātaka, iv, 454.

[2] *Ibid.*, v, 2, 5, 6.

[3] *Ibid.*, vi, 72.

[4] *Ibid.*, iv, 388.

[5] Sāratthappakāsinī, iii, 4.

[6] Beal, Buddhist Records, ii, 114.

[7] I. 2. 2.

[8] Majjhima, iii, 68f.

[9] Law, Rājagriha in Ancient Literature, p. 3.

The Kāḷasilā was a black rock on a side of Isigili and there was an echoing peak called Paṭibhānakūṭa. The Indakūṭa was near Gijjhakūṭa. The Vediyaka hill has been identified by Cunningham with the Giriyak, containing the famous cave called Indasālaguhā.[1] The group of five Rājgīr hills formed, as it now forms, the head and the Vediyaka, the tail of one and the same short range running from west to east over a distance of nine miles from Rājgīr to the village of Giriyak.

The Vepulla mountain was known in a very remote age by the name of Pācīna-Vaṃsa. The name of this hill was changed to Vaṅkaka. The hill then received the name of Supassa. It afterwards became known as Vepulla.[2]

With the Pi-pu-lo (Vipula or better Vaihāra-Vipuḷa) hill to the west of the north gate of Rājagaha, Hiuen Tsang associated five hundred hot springs of which several scores, some cold, some tepid, remained at his time. The source of them was traced to the Anotatta Lake.[3] The Vaibhāragiri is described in a Jaina text as a sacred hill affording the possibility of the formation of Kuṇḍas of tepid and cold water. The hot springs are mentioned in connection with Rājagaha while Buddhaghosa, a Buddhist commentator, definitely refers them to the Vebhāra hills.[4]

The Pippali or Pipphali and Sattapaṇṇi caves are associated with the Vebhāra hill. Both of them were situated on the north side of this hill. There were crevices, four of which were important.[5] The Pāsāṇakacetiya was a holy rock not far from Rājagaha.[6]

There were some natural forests and hill tracts in the middle country. The Kurujāṅgala was a wild region in the Kuru realm which in all likelihood separated the Kuru realm from Pañcāla. The Pārileyyakavana was an elephant forest at some distance from the city of Kauśāmbī and on the way to Śrāvastī.[7] The Āñjanavana at Sāketa, the Mahāvana at Vesālī and the Mahāvana at Kapilavatthu were natural forests. The Lumbinīvana, a village in the time of Aśoka, situated on the bank of the river Rohiṇī, was a similar forest.[8] The Sālavana of the Mallas at Kuśīnārā, the Bhesakaḷāvana at Suṃsumāragira in the realm of the Bhaggas, the Siṃsapāvana at Kosambī and the one near Āḷavī and the Pipphalivana of the Moriyas may be cited as typical examples of natural forests.[9] Similarly Kajaṅgala which lay to the east of Aṅga and extended from the Ganges in the north-east to the Suvarṇarekhā in the south-east was an extensive hill tract. The Vinjhāṭavi which was then a forest without any human habitation represented the forest through which lay the way from Pāṭaliputra to Tāmralipti.[1]

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[1] Dīgha, ii, 263; Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, iii, 697.

[2] Saṃyutta, ii, 190f.

[3] Watters, Yuan Chwang, ii, 153-54.

[4] Sāratthappakāsinī, i, p. 38.

[5] Udāna, iv, 4; Law, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[6] Sutta Nipāta, verse 1013.

[7] Saṃyutta, iii, 95; Vinaya, i, 352.

[8] Jātaka, i, 52f; Manorathapūraṇī, i, 10.

[9] Dīgha, ii, 146f; Majjhima, i, 95; ii, 91; Saṃyutta, v, 437; Dīgha, ii, 164f.

Besides the natural forests, there were innumerable private and royal gardens. The Migadāya at Isipatana near Benares, the one at Maddakucchī in Rājagaha and that at Bhesakaḷāvana were the three notable deer-parks. Besides the tanks and wells, there were several pools in the middle country though none of them was so very important as to find mention by name.

It is interesting to deal with the realms visited by the Buddha in the middle country. They were Kuru and Pañcāla in the west and north-west, Vaṃsa in the west and south-west, Kāśī and Kośala in the middle, the Śākya and Koliya in the north, the Vajji and Malla in the east and north-east, and Aṅga, Magadha and Kajaṅgala in the east and south-east. The Buddhist Midland may be shown to have constituted the upper Gangetic valley between the Himalayas in the north and the Vindhya range in the south. Within the area some such small tracts as the Rāmagāma of the Koliyas, the Pipphalivana of the Moriyas, the Allakappa of the Bulis, the realm of the Bhaggas[2] and the Kesaputta of the Kālāmas[3] have been included. According to an early Buddhist text the kingdom of King Reṇu was divided into seven separate kingdoms with their respective capitals as mentioned below: (1) Kaliṅga—capital, Dantapura; (2) Assaka—capital, Potana; (3) Avantī—capital, Māhissatī; (4) Sovīra—capital, Roruka; (5) Videha—capital, Mithilā; (6) Aṅga—capital, Campā; and (7) Kāśī—capital, Bārāṇasī.[4] The last three of these were included in the middle country.

Kuru kingdom: This kingdom extended from the Sarasvatī to the Ganges and consisted of three parts, viz. Kurujāṅgala, the Kuru land proper and Kurukṣetra.[5] The people originally coming from Uttarakuru colonized it. The Kurujāṅgala was a jungle tract of the Kuru land which extended as far as the Kāmyaka forest. The kingdom of Uttara Pañcāla was founded in this part of Kuru kingdom, in which case it must have stood on the left bank of the Bhāgīrathī-gaṅgā. The kingdom proper had Hastināpura for its capital,[6] Indraprastha, near modern Delhi according to the Jātakas.[7] This kingdom was 300 leagues in extent and its capital 700 leagues in circumference. Kurukṣetra is located to the

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[1] Mahāvaṃsa, xix, 6; Dīpavaṃsa, xvi, 2; Samantapāsādikā, iii, 655.

[2] Dīgha, ii, 164f.

[3] Aṅguttara, i, p. 188.

[4] Dīgha, ii, 220f.

[5] Mahābhārata, i, 109. 1.

[6] Divyāvadāna, p. 435.

[7] Jātaka, v, pp. 57, 484; vi, 255.

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north of Khāṇḍava, to the south of Tūrghna and to the east of the Parīṇa.[1] While according to the Mahābhārata it is placed to the south of the Sarasvatī and north of the Dṛṣadvatī between the lakes of Rāma and Macakruka.[2] There were two townships in the Kuru kingdom named as Kammāsadamma and Thullakoṭṭhita.[3] The first town was a training ground of draught-horses and the second town was so called because its granaries were always full.[4] There was another wealthy, famous and beautiful town in the Kuru kingdom named Isukāra.[5]

Pañcāla: The Bhāgīrathī formed the dividing line between the Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Pañcāla. The northern Pañcāla had its capital at Ahicchatra[6] identified with modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district. The capital of Dakṣiṇa Pañcāla was Kāmpilya identical with modern Kampil in the Farokhabad district.

Vaṃsa: This country called Vatsabhūmi in the Mahābhārata (II, 30) was about 6,000 li in circuit and its capital Kauśāmbī was about 30 li. According to Hiuen Tsang it was a fertile country with a hot climate. It yielded much upland rice and sugar-cane. Its people were enterprising, fond of arts, and cultivators of religious merit.[7] The inhabitants of this country are criticized as rude and rough.[8] This country was very rich and prosperous and its cotton fabrics were of a very high quality.[9] Cunningham identifies the capital Kauśāmbī with the present village of Kosam on the right bank of the Jumna. The present distance by road of about 100 miles from Benares to Kosam is the distance of 13 yojanas as suggested by Fā-Hian.[10] According to Hiuen Tsang the way from Prayāga to Kauśāmbī lay through a jungle and bare plains covering seven days' journey on foot. Kosam is about 30 miles from Allahabad across the fields and 137 miles by road above the Yamunā. The village of Pabhosā is situated at a distance of about two and half miles north-east of Kosam. At Kauśāmbī there were two famous gardens known as Ghositārāma and Pāvārikambavana.[11] There was a reserve forest of Pārileyyaka in Vatsa the way to which from Kauśāmbī lay through two villages. Pārileyyaka stood on a road from Kauśāmbī to Śrāvastī.[1] An early Buddhist text refers to a journey on foot from Kauśāmbī to Adhogaṅga hill.[2]

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[1] Vedic Index, I, 169f.

[2] III, 83. 204.

[3] Dīgha, ii, pp. 55, 290; Majjhima, i, pp. 55, 501; ii, p. 54; Manorathapūraṇī, i, p. 144.

[4] Papañcasūdanī, ii, 722; Avadānaśataka, ii, 118.

[5] Uttarādhyayana, xiv, 1.

[6] Mahābhārata, Ādi Parva, Chap. 140.

[7] Watters, *op. cit.*, i, 366.

[8] Lefmann, Lalitavistara, p. 21.

[9] Aṅguttara, iv, 252, 256 and 260; Arthaśāstra by Shama Śāstrī, tr., p. 94.

[10] Watters, *op. cit.*, i, 367.

[11] Vinaya, i, 337f.; Majjhima, i, 320; Dīgha, ii, 81.

Bhagga: The country of the Bhaggas became a dependency of Vatsa with Suṃsumāragira as its chief town.[3] The location of Bhagga is not settled although some place it between Vaiśālī and Śrāvastī.

Ceti kingdom: The country of the Cetis lay near the Yamunā. It may approximately be identified with the modern Bundelkhand and adjoining region. Sotthivatī, probably identical with the Śuktimatī of the Mahābhārata, is mentioned as its capital.[4] Sahajāti, a town of Ceti, probably stood on the right bank of the Yamunā. There was a deer park in the Pācīnavaṃsa, which lay to the east of Vatsa. There was a Ceta kingdom situated 30 yojanas from the Jetuttaranagara through which lay a way to the Himalayan region.[5]

Kāśī: This is one of the most ancient kingdoms in northern India with Bārāṇasī as its capital, 12 yojanas in extent.[6] The city of Benares stood, as it now does, on the left bank of the Ganges and was known by different names in different ages. The city derived its name from Asi and Baruṇā, the two small streams bounding it on the south and the north respectively. The country was noted as a great centre of trade, most populous and prosperous. One highway connected it with Rājagṛha and another with Śrāvastī. It was noted for silk cloth and perfumes. Kiṭāgiri is mentioned as one of the notable places. It was a very fertile tract with abundance of rain-water enabling it to yield three harvests of food grains. The most important place near Benares in the history of Buddhism is the deer park at Ṛṣipatana (modern Sārnāth) which was the place of Buddha's enlightenment and situated at a distance of three or four miles to the north of the modern city of Benares. The ancient city of Benares was a great centre of trade and industry and trade relations existed between it and Śrāvastī and Takṣaśīlā.[7]

Kośala: The country of Kośala proper was divided into north and south evidently by the river Sarayū serving as a wedge between them. Śrāvastī was the capital of northern Kośala and Kuśāvatī was the capital of southern Kośala, Ayodhyā being the earlier capital of the undivided kingdom. Some have located Kuśāvatī at the foot of the Vindhyas. Sāketa has been mentioned in some early Buddhist texts[8] as the capital of northern Kośala. It is said to have stood on a high road between Śrāvastī and Kauśāmbī.

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[1] Saṃyutta, iii, 95; Udāna, iv, 5; Majjhima, i, 320.

[2] Vinaya Cullavagga, xii.

[3] Majjhima, i, 332; Aṅguttara, ii, p. 61; Vinaya, ii, 127.

[4] iii, 22–50; xiv, 83. 2.

[5] Jātaka, vi, 514f.

[6] *Ibid.*, vi, 160.

[7] Dhammapada Commentary, i, 123; iii, 429.

[8] Jātaka, iii, 270; Mahāvastu, i, 348.

Śrāvastī was so called either because it was founded near the hermitage of the sage Savattha or because of its great prosperity as a city. It stood on the right bank of the Aciravatī river (modern Rapti). The great trade route from Rājagṛha to Śrāvastī branched off into two roads, one the southern road (better south-western) and the other northern road (better north-western), each lending its name to the region through which it lay. There were several towns in Kośala, e.g. Ukkaṭṭha, Naṅgaraka; Medaḷumpa, Paṅkadhā, Nāḷakapāna, Daṇḍakappa, Setavyā.[1] There were some Brahmin villages, e.g. Manasākaṭa, Ekasālā, Nagaravinda, Icchānaṅgala, Venāgapura and Opasāda. As for other localities mention may be made of Palāsavana, Toraṇavatthu, Nālandā, and Caṇḍalakappa.[2] At the south gate of Śrāvastī and within a distance of about 2 miles from it was the famous garden of Prince Jeta; at its east gate lay the site of the Pubbārāma and in its neighbourhood stood the grove of Queen Mallikā.[3] Saravaṇa is mentioned as the birth-place of Gosāla. The Sundarikā, probably not far from Śrāvastī, was a sacred river in Kośala. The river Sadānīrā (modern Gaṇḍakī) formed a boundary in the east between Kośala and Videha.

Magadha: The kingdom of Magadha roughly corresponding to the modern Patna and Gaya districts of Behar was broadly divided into two, Gayā and Magadha. Magadha is distinctly called by the Jains as Māgahatitthakhetta. The Ganges formed a natural dividing line between Kāśī on the west and Magadha on the east as well as between Magadha on the south and Videha and Vaiśālī on the north. The river Campā (modern Chandan) formed a boundary on the east side between Magadha and Aṅga. Gorathagiri stood just on the border-land of Magadha towards Gayā. The Gayā proper comprised three divisions, all located along the left bank of the Nerañjarā and the Gayā river: Uruvelā, Nadī, and Gayā. The Gayā division contained twenty-five hills of which the Gayāśīra (modern Brahmayoni hill) was the main. The hills of Gayā formed the head of a very old range of hills with its navel at Yajpur in Orissa, and southern extremity at Mahendragiri. The distance by road from Gayā to Uruvelā (Bodh-Gayā) was six or seven miles. The Uruvelā division on the bank of the Nerañjarā contained Senānigāma (identified with the modern village of Urel) and Nala which was the native village of Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Buddhist commentator. According to Hiuen Tsang, Uruvelā extended north and east 14 or 15 li at least from a point near the base of the

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[1] Dīgha, i, 87; Majjhima, ii; Aṅguttara, iii, 402; *Ibid.*, v, 122; i, 236.

[2] Saṃyutta, iv, 374; Majjhima, ii, 209; Saṃyutta, iv, 322.

[3] Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, ii, 365.

Gayāśīrṣa hill on the other side of the Phalgu. In its southern extension it was outskirted by an extensive jungle tract of Vaṅkahāra country (roughly identical with Hazaribagh district). The way from Gayā to Benares lay through such localities as Gandhapura, Aparagayā, Sārathipura on the right bank of the Ganges. The earlier capital of Magadha was Rājagṛha also known as Girivraja or Kuśāgrapura. There was a precipice called Corapapāta down which the thieves were thrown. There was a bamboo forest on a road between Rājagṛha and Uruvelā. The other localities of importance were Veluvana, Jīvaka's mango grove, Bimbisāra's mango grove, Pāvārika's mango grove at Nālandā (identified with the present village of Burgaon). There was a famous Brahmin village called Dakṣiṇagiri. There were other villages, e.g. Nālaka, Siddhatthagāma.[1] The Jains lay the scene of Mahāvīra's death at Pāvāpurī on the Bihar Sarif-Nawadah Road. The village of Pāṭaligāma stood on the right bank of the Ganges. This village having been fortified gave rise to the city of Pāṭaliputra, the later capital of Magadha which suffered thrice from the action of water, fire, and earthquake.[2] Some have located Rājagṛha at a distance of 5 leagues from the Ganges.

Aṅga: The kingdom of Aṅga was 4,000 li in extent according to Hiuen Tsang and it lay to the east of Magadha separated from the latter by the river Campā. On the north it was bounded by the Ganges. Aṅga as described in the Mahābhārata may be supposed to have comprised the districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr. Its capital was Campā on the right bank of the Ganges, formerly known as Mālinī[3] which stood at a distance of 60 yojanas from Mithilā.[4] Bhaddiya and Assapura were the two cities in Aṅga. Āpaṇa is mentioned as a township in Aṅguttarāpa, a tract which lay to the north of Mahī, evidently a part of Aṅga, on the other side of that river.[5] Aṅga was a prosperous country and Campā was one of the most flourishing cities and a great centre of trade and commerce. In its neighbourhood there was a famous tank called Gaggarā.[6]

Kajaṅgala: This country formed an eastern boundary of the middle country beyond the Brahmin village of Mahāsāla. According to Hiuen Tsang this country was 2,000 li in circuit and was bounded on the north by the Ganges. The kingdom of Puṇḍravardhana could be reached from its capital by journeying about 600 li eastward across the Ganges. It was a prosperous place where food was easily available. There was a bamboo grove in this country and there was a river called Salaḷavatī in the south-east.

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[1] Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 250.

[2] Dīgha, ii, 88.

[3] Mahābhārata, xii, 5. 6-7; Harivaṃśa, 31. 49.

[4] Jātaka, vi, p. 32.

[5] Paramatthajotikā, ii, 437.

[6] Dīgha, ii, 111.

Sumbha: This was a country of the Sumbhas with Setaka as its capital. Some have identified it with Suhma (modern Midnapore district) but the location is uncertain.

Vajjī territory: It appears to have comprised the principalities of eight or nine confederate clans. Vesālī or Besārh was the headquarters of the Licchavis. It was rich, prosperous and populous. It was surrounded by three walls at the distance of a *gāvuta* from one another, each provided with gates and watch towers. The early Jaina texts mention Kuṇḍagrāma, the seat of the power of the Nātas, in the suburb of Vaiśālī.[1] The country of the Bhaggas is placed between Vaiśālī and Śrāvastī. Videha (modern Tirhut) was bounded by the Kośikī in the east, the Ganges in the south, the Sadānīrā in the west and the Himalayas in the north. Cunningham identifies Mithilā with Janakapura. The high road connecting Rājagṛha with Kapilavastu passed through such places as Koṭigāma on the left bank of the Ganges, Hatthigāma, Ambagāma, Vesālī, Nādikā, etc. There was a natural forest called Mahāvana in the neighbourhood of Vesālī.[2] Ukkācelā was a Vajjian town on the left bank of the Ganges.[3] Mithilā, the capital of Videha, had at each of its four gates a market town.[4]

Malla country: The kingdom of the Mallas,[5] which are stated to be nine according to the early Buddhist texts, comprised in theory nine territories, one of each of the confederate clans. The two territories of the Mallas are prominent, one with its headquarters at Kuśīnārā and the other with Pāvā as its chief town. The first abutted on the Śākya territory and the second on the Vajjī. Bhoganagara was a Malla town between Jambugāma and Pāvā on the high road connecting Vaiśālī and Kapilavastu.[6] The river Kakutthā formed the boundary between the two territories. The Sāla grove of Kuśīnārā was on the river Hiraññavatī. In ancient times Kuśīnārā was the most flourishing and magnificent city of Kuśāvatī, 12 leagues in length from east to west and 7 leagues in breadth from north to south.[7] Anupiya was a Malla town on the high road between Kuśīnārā and the river Anomā.[8] Uruvelakappa was another Malla town. Pāvā may probably be identified with the Kasia on the smaller Gaṇḍak and Kuśīnārā with the village called Padaraona, 12 miles north-east of Kasia. Hiuen Tsang travelled from Kuśīnārā to Benares covering a distance of 500 li through a great forest.[1]

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[1] Ācārāṅgasūtra, S.B.E., xxii, pp. x-xi.

[2] Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, i, 309.

[3] Majjhima, i, 225; Saṃyutta, iv, 261f.

[4] Jātaka, vi, 330.

[5] Kalpasūtra, 128; Nirayāvalī sūtra.

[6] Dīgha, ii, 123; Sutta Nipāta, vv. 1012-1013.

[7] Dīgha, ii, 146f.

[8] Jātaka, i, 140; Dīgha, iii, p. 1; Vinaya, ii, 180, 184.

Śākya and Koliya territories: The Śākya country lay to the east of Kośala and south of the Himalayas. It was then rich and prosperous.[2] Kapilavastu (identified with Tilaura, 2 miles from Tauliva in the Nepal Terai) was the capital of the Śākyas. According to Hiuen Tsang the city was situated to the south-east of Śrāvastī. It was situated on the high road which passed through Setavyā to connect it with Śrāvastī. There were other Śākya towns, e.g. Sīlavatī, Sāmagāma, Cātumā, and Khomadussa.

The Koliyas of Devadaha and Rāmagāma possessed two territories. On the bank of the Rohiṇī river on the Śākya side stood Lumbinivana, the birth-place of Buddha, the modern village of Rummindei, only 10 miles to the east of Kapilavastu and 2 miles to the north of Bhagavānpur. The river Rohiṇī divided the territories of the Śākyas and the Koliyas. Devadaha on the other side of the Rohiṇī was the seat of government of the first Koliyan territory. Rāmagāma, the second Koliyan territory, lay to the east of Kapilavastu at a distance of about 300 li across a wide jungle. Hiuen Tsang had to walk north-east through a great forest, along a dangerous and difficult road, to reach Kuśīnārā from Rāmagāma.

Pipphalivana: This was the land of the Moriyas. One finds an echo of its name in that of Piprāvā, a village in the Birdpur estate in the district of Basti.

Allakappa and Veṭhadīpa: Allakappa was the land of the Bulis and Veṭhadīpa was the native land of a Brahmin called Doṇa; both of them were kingdoms.[3] Hiuen Tsang locates the site of Droṇa-stūpa, that is Veṭhadīpa, 100 li south-east of Mahāsāra, identified with Masār, a village 6 miles to the west of Arrah.

Kesaputta: The Kālāmas are associated with Kesaputta which is a name similar to Pāṭaliputta, Seriyāputa, Satiyāputa, and Keralaputa.

Āḷavī: This is the name of both the country and its principal town. As a principality, it was included in the Kosalan empire. This town was 30 yojanas from Śrāvastī and 12 from Benares.[4] It lay between Śrāvastī and Rājagṛha. The way from Śrāvastī to Āḷavī lay through Kiṭāgiri.[5] Some think that Āḷavī was on the Ganges.

Eastern India: The Pubbanta or Prācya may be defined as the extreme eastern part of India lying to the east of the middle country.

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[1] Beal, Buddhist Records, ii, 43.

[2] Sutta Nipāta, verse 1012.

[3] Dhammapada Commentary, i, p. 161.

[4] Watters, Yuan Chwang, ii, 61.

[5] Vinaya, ii, 170f.

The eastern boundary of the midland changed from time to time, from Prayāga to Kāśī, from Kāśī to Kajaṅgala and ultimately from the latter to Puṇḍravardhana. The only locality to the east of Kajaṅgala was a Brahmin village of Mahāsāla. Its south-east boundary was formed by the river Sarāvatī to be identified either with the Silai, which taking its rise in the Chota Nagpur hills and being united with the Dalkisor flows down as the Rūpnārāyaṇ through the districts of Bankura and Midnapore, or with the Suvarṇarekhā which also taking its rise in the Chota Nagpur hills flows down through the districts of Manbhum and Midnapore. According to the Jains, Lāḍha was a pathless country with its two divisions: Subbhabhūmi and Vajjabhūmi which may be taken to correspond to the modern district of Midnapore. The country of Lāḍha extended from the south-east corner of the middle country to the Bay of Bengal and lay just to the north-east of Kaliṅga. The Subbhabhūmi may be taken to have formed the northern division of the district of Midnapore, while Vajjabhūmi with Tāmalitti (Tāmralipta, modern Tamluk on the western bank of the Rūpnārāyaṇ), the southern division. Tāmalitti was a great seaport town. Puṇḍravardhana (identified with the modern district of Bogra) lay to the east of the Puṇḍrakakṣa hill about 100 li east from the northern end of Kajaṅgala across the Ganges. A Brāhmī inscription found at Mahāsthāngarh near the town of Bogra mentions Puṇḍra as a prosperous town.[1] The way to the city of Puṇḍravardhana from Kajaṅgala must have been through the place now covered by the district of Malda.

Vaṅga is mentioned as an important centre of trade and commerce. It is contiguous to Aṅga. The western extremity of Vaṅga bordered on Aṅga-Magadha. The district of Lāḷa was situated between Vaṅga on one side and Kaliṅga on the other. Vaṅga in its earlier denotation may be taken to have represented central Bengal extending as far west as the eastern end of Kajaṅgala. Subsequently, Vaṅga came to denote eastern Bengal proper, practically identical with Hiuen Tsang's Samataṭa. Suvaṇṇakūṭa was another centre of trade and commerce. Some have located it in Kāmarūpa.[2]

Himalayan region: According to all Indian traditions Jambudvīpa extended to the north up to the southern side of Mt. Sumeru placed in the middle of a country called Ilāvṛta containing two mountain ranges: the western called Mālyavat and the eastern known as Gandhamādana. The river Jambu taking its rise in the Merumandāra mountain flows down through the Ilāvṛtavarṣa.[3]

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[1] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Epigraphia Indica*.

[2] N. N. Das Gupta in *I.C.*, Vol. V, 339.

[3] Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Chap. 57.

The Niṣadha mountain range is placed to the south of Ilāvṛtavarṣa to the south of which lay the country of Harivarṣa. In between Bhāratavarṣa and Harivarṣa are placed the Himalayan range and the Hemakūṭa which is also known as Kiṃpuruṣavarṣa. The Haimavata region is also known as Kinnarakhaṇḍa. According to Theravāda Buddhist tradition the Himalayan region extended to the north up to the Gandhamādana range. As in the Purāṇas so in the Jātakas the Kinnaras, Kiṃpuruṣas and Vidyādharas are associated with the Himalaya mountains. An early Buddhist text mentions some mountains in the neighbourhood of the Himalayas.[1] The Anotatta or Mānas-sarovara was the most important lake which was associated with the Kailāsa and Citrakūṭa peaks.

Mahāpadmahrada was the name of the two Himalayan lakes, one connected with the western and the other with the eastern Himalayan range. The Ganges that flowed down southwards branched off into five main rivers of the middle country. The Rohitā flowing eastwards may be identified with the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra, Sindhu flowing northwards with the Indus and one flowing westwards with the Sutlej. The Himalayan region was frequented by the hermits, hunters and kings on hunting expedition. The hermits and ascetics built many hermitages. The hollows in the mountains served as dens for lions and tigers. The Himalayan forests are said to have abounded in four species of lions, tigers, panthers, bears, elephants, bulls, buffaloes, etc. They abounded also in reptiles. The rivers and lakes were full of fish. The birds were numerous and there were various kinds of trees.[2]

Northern and north-western India: This part of India extended west and north-west from the Brahmin village of Thūṇa or from Pṛthudaka (Pehoa), that is to say, from a place near about Thāneswar. It was bounded on the north and west by the belt of the western Himalayan range reaching down to the Arabian Sea. The region of Uttarāpatha lay to the north of Aparānta and the west of Buddhist midland and was watered by the Himalayan rivers forming the Indus group. The important countries that are included in this region are Aparānta, Śūdra, Gandhāra, Yavana, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Madra, Pārada, Kekaya, Kamboja, Darada, Barbara, Vāhlīka and Kāśmīra. Kāśmīra-Gandhāra and Kamboja are definitely placed in Uttarāpatha in early Buddhist texts.[3]

The Kaṃsa territory was the kingdom of Mathurā, i.e. Śūrasena of which Mathurā was the capital in the time of Mahāvīra and

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[1] Apadāna, pp. 162, 178, 381, 382, 437, 440, etc.

[2] For a detailed study see B. C. Law, Apadāna in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XIII, 1937, p. 236.

[3] Aṅguttara, iv, 252, 256, 260; Vinaya, iii, p. 6.

Buddha. Gandhāra may be taken to have comprised the whole of the districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi in the northern Punjab. Its capital Takṣaśīlā (modern Taxila) was both a centre of trade and an ancient seat of learning. Kāśmīra is no other than the modern state of Kashmir and Jammu which lies to the east of Peshawar and Rawalpindi. The location of Yona and Kamboja is not definitely settled. They must have been localities near about Kāśmīra and Gandhāra. The Mahābhārata definitely locates the land of the Śūdrakas in western Rajputana where the river Sarasvatī disappears. The Greek historians place the Sodrai in the western part of the Punjab. The land of the Kṣudrakas, Greek Sudracae, Oxydrakai, is placed in the Greek accounts between the Ravi and the Beas. It may be located in the district of Montgomery. Madra was the country of the Sibis which had Sāgala as its capital. The river Irāvatī flowed through it. Alasanda (Alexandria) was a city in the Yona country which was a centre of trade and commerce.[1] It was both the name of a country and its chief town. Sindhu and Sauvīra were two great centres of trade and commerce. Sindhu may be identified with Sindh on the Arabian Sea. Sauvīra has been described as a kingdom with Roruka as its capital. It was probably situated between the Indus and the Jhelum. The way of the caravan merchants from Aṅga and Magadha to Sindhu and Sauvīra lay across a great desert which was no other than the great desert of Rajputana. Barbara is associated in the Mahābhārata with Yona, Kamboja, Gandhāra and Kirāta and placed in Uttarāpatha. Barbara or Barbaricum is described in the Periplus as a market town of Minnagara on the Erythraean Sea. Pallava may be identified with Pahlava and Bahika with Vāhīka. Utpalāvatī, a city in Uttarāpatha, may be identified with Puṣkalāvatī or Puṣkarāvatī (which is identified with modern Parang and Chārsada, 17 miles north-east of Peshawar on the Swat river) which was one of the two most important cities in Gandhāra. Kekaka or Kekaya territory lay beyond the Vipāśā and abutted on the Gandhāra country. Setavyā is described as a city of Gandhāra,[2] while according to the early Buddhist texts it is located in Kośala and on the high road between Kapilavastu and Śrāvastī. The Sindhu (Indus), Vitaṃsā (Vitastā) and Candrabhāgā (Chenāb) are the important rivers of Uttarāpatha. The Bhāgīrathī-gaṅgā taking its rise in the Himalayas flowed by the city of Haṃsavatī. There was another river by the name of Amarikā which flowed from the foot of the Samaṅga mountain belonging to the Himalayan range.

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[1] Mahāniddesa, pp. 155, 415.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, 1891, 375.

Western India: It represents that part of western India which lay to the west of the Buddhist midland and to the north and south of the Deccan and northern India. According to some it extended westward from the western side of the kingdom of Vatsa. It was the western seaboard of India. The Bhoja and Rāṣṭra countries, which are mentioned in Aśoka's R.E. V, are the countries in western India. Devasabhā, Surāṣṭra, Bhṛgukaccha, Ānarta and Aburda are the representative countries of the western India. According to Hiuen Tsang's account western India seems to have comprised Sind, western Rajputana, Cutch, Gujarat and a portion of the adjoining coast on the lower course of the Narmadā.[1] Avantī was the most important among the countries in western India. It appears to have been divided by the river Vetravatī into north and south, the north having its capital at Ujjayinī and the south at Māhiṣmatī. Both Ujjayinī and Māhiṣmatī stood on the southern high road extending from Rājagṛha to Pratiṣṭhāna. Kuraraghara was a town in Avantī. The country or kingdom of Avantī may be taken to have corresponded roughly to modern Malwa and Nimar and the adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. Vedisā (identified by Cunningham with the modern Bhilsa in the Gwalior State) lay on the road to Ujjayinī. The kingdom of Śūrasena had Mathurā (modern Muttra) on the right bank of the Yamunā as its capital. Śūrasena is placed to the south of the Kuru country. The way from Śrāvastī to Mathurā lay through an important locality called Verañjā. Matsya mentioned with Śūrasena is to be located to the south or south-west of Indraprastha. Its capital was Virāṭanagara (modern Bairat). It may be supposed to have comprised the State of Jaipur and included the whole of the State of Alwar with a portion of Bharatpur. Surāṣṭra was another important country in western India which was watered by a river called Sātodikā. Its capital was Girinagara (modern Girnar in Kathiawad). The Sunāparanta is identified with the modern Konkan. Its capital was Surpāraka, a highly important seaport on the Arabian Sea, modern Sopārā in the district of Thānā near Bombay. The Bhṛgukaccha was another important seaport town on the Arabian Sea which is identified with modern Broach in Kathiawad and identical with the Barygaza of Ptolemy and the Periplus. Bhoja may be identified with modern Berar. The town Satakaṇṇikā may be taken to have represented the place of origin of the Śātakarṇis.

Deccan: This represents south India which extended southward from Māhiṣmatī identified with Māndhātā on the Narmadā. According to the Jains it was the southern half of India to the south of the

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[1] Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 690.

Vindhya range. The Godāvarī and the Narmadā regions are definitely placed in Dakṣiṇāpatha. Besides these two rivers there are other rivers, e.g. Kāverī and Kaṇṇapeṇṇā. The famous river Kāverī flowed into the sea. The Kaṇṇapeṇṇā was a river in Mysore. Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Paiṭhān) on the Godāvarī is described as the southern terminus of the southern high road extending from Rājagṛha. It was situated near about the modern Pañcavaṭī at Nāsik. On the banks of the Godāvarī stood the two Andhra kingdoms of Assaka with its capital at Potana and Aḷaka or Mūḷaka, the latter standing to the north of the former.[1] Kolapaṭṭana was a harbour on the Coromandel coast. Rājagiri, Pubbasela, Aparasela and Siddhattha were all localities near about the Andhaka seat of power, i.e. in the neighbourhood of Amarāvatī. The Damiḷa (Drāviḍa) territories included the countries of Coḷa with Kāñcīpura (modern Conjeeveram) as its capital, Pāṇḍya with Madhurasuttapaṭṭana (modern Madoura) as its chief town and Kerala (Chera).[2] Kaliṅga was a kingdom with its capital at Dantapura, situated near Chicacole on the Bay of Bengal. Oḍra and Utkala represented the two distinct parts of Orissa. The Mekala country was probably a tract of land comprising the modern Amarakaṇṭaka hills and adjoining locality. There was a river named Telavāha in the kingdom of Seriva near Andhapura.[3]

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[1] Sutta Nipāta, verse 1011.

[2] Cūḷavaṃsa, liii, 9; lv, 5, 12.

[3] Jātaka, i, p. 111.

A FEW KNOTTY POINTS IN THE MAHĀVAṂSA ACCOUNT OF THE SECOND BUDDHIST COUNCIL

By DEVAPRASAD GUHA

Buddhist traditions speak of a number of Councils which are said to have taken place in India and Ceylon on various occasions at different times after the demise of Buddha. Though the traditions do not admit all the Councils, they are more or less unanimous for the first two. It is for more than half a century that this subject has been constantly attracting the attention of scholars. Although the Second Council is a long-discussed question, yet there are some points which still require proper investigation.

Sambhūta Sāṇavāsī.

The first thing that strikes a reader is the name Sambhūta which has got *Sāṇavāsī* as its appellation. Sambhūta, as can be gathered from all the Pāli sources, was one of the four *arhats* who represented the bhikkhus of the West in the special committee (tribunal) selected for discussing the Ten Points or Issues which were the bones of contention among the orthodox bhikkhus and their liberal brethren of Vesālī. Scholars like Oldenberg, Müller, Turnour and Wijesinha have construed Sāṇavāsī as *Sāṇe* or *Sāṇasmiṃ vāsī adhivāsī*, i.e. a resident of Sāṇa, which, in this sense, evidently signifies a place. This, of course, is not improbable. But against this contention it can be said that had *vāsī* been used in the sense of 'a resident', as has been taken by the above-named scholars, is it not reasonable to expect the mention of the residence in the case of some other theras? But unfortunately our sources are all silent on this point. Again, had *sāṇa* signified a place-name, is it not natural to expect its mention as a geographical name in any other early Indian literary or inscriptional work? The only names, somewhat similar to it, which can be had from other literary works, are Sānupabbata,[1] Sānuvāsī(pabbata)[2] and Suvaṇṇapabbata,[3] none of which, however, can be philologically equated with our name. Of course, it is to be admitted that the simple absence of any reference to this place in any other literary or inscriptional work does not guarantee the absence of it in ancient days. Moreover, further researches in Indology may bring into light not only the reference to Sāṇa, as a geographical name, but also its particulars.

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[1] *Jātaka*, P.T.S. edition, V, p. 415.

[2] *Petavatthu*, ch. iii, p. 35.

[3] *Jātaka*, I, pp. 50, 55.

Now the word Sāṇavāsī may be taken as a combination of the words *sāṇa,* Sk. śāṇa, hemp, and *vāsī,* from √vas, wearer, clothed in, clad. In this sense *vāsī* has been used in many places in Pāli literature. For example, (*a*) *saṅghāṭivāsī* agiho carāmi [1] : *dressed in a saṅghāṭi,* I wander about houseless; (*b*) *kāsāyavāsiṃ* agihaṃ carantam [2] : *wearing the yellow robe* one wandering about homeless; (*c*) *sāhunnavāsino* eke añ̃ñe *kesanivāsino* petā . . . [3] : the spirits, some *wearing stripes of ragged cloth* and others *with hair as the cover* of their nakedness . . .; (*d*) yāni pure tuvam devi bhaṇḍu *nantakavāsinī* [4] : formerly, O queen, you did go about bare-headed and *ill-clad*; and (*e*) kuto nu āgacchasi *rummavāsī* otallako paṃsupisācako va [5] : whence do you come, *in filthy garments dressed,* a creature, vile and goblinlike? Thus, in this sense, Sāṇavāsī, while qualifying Sambhūta, signifies that he was a monk who used to put on a robe, made of hemp, a thing, though uncommon, is not, however, improper for a bhikkhu. The following passages in the *Vinaya Mahāvagga* give testimony to the fact that Buddha allowed the monks to use hempen robes: (i) Tena kho pana samayena saṃghassa uccâvacāni cīvarāni uppajjanti. Atha kho bhikkhūnaṃ etad ahosi: kiṃ nu kho bhagavatā cīvaraṃ anuññātan ti. Bhagavato etam attham ārocesuṃ. Anujānāmi bhikkhave cha cīvarāni khomaṃ kappāsikaṃ koseyyaṃ kambalaṃ *sāṇaṃ* bhaṅgan ti [6] : 'At that time the fraternity got different kinds of robes, whereupon the bhikkhus thought "which robes are allowed to us by the Blessed One, and which are not?" They put the question to the Lord who answered thus, "I allow you, O monks, six kinds of robes, viz. those made of linen, cotton, silk, wool, *hempen cloth* and coarse cloth ".' [7] (ii) Paṃsukūlacīvaraṃ nissāya pabbajjā, tattha te yāvajīvaṃ ussāho karaṇīyo. Atirekalābho khomaṃ kappāsikaṃ koseyyaṃ kambalaṃ *sāṇaṃ* bhaṅgaṃ [8] : 'The religious life has the robe made of rags collected from dust heaps for its resource. Thus, you must endeavour to live all your life. Linen, cotton, silk, woollen garments, *hempen cloth,* coarse cloth, are all extra allowances.' [9] The members, again, who were chosen for the judicial committee of eight are mentioned by their names only without any qualifying attribute, excepting, of course, in the cases of Yasa and Sambhūta. The former has been represented in the *Cullavagga* as Kākaṇḍakaputta, and in the *Mahāvaṃsa* as Kākaṇḍakadijatraja, the son of the Brāhmin Kākaṇḍaka, while the latter has been mentioned in all the sources as *sāṇavāsī*. Now, for this different way of expression an explanation may be hazarded. It seems to me that Yasa was given an attribute to distinguish him from his other namesakes. And as for Sambhūta the speciality of his dress brought for him a qualifying attribute. It seems to me that the peculiarities in the cases of these two members of the committee induced the *theras* to speak of Yasa and Sambhūta in the way they have been described. Thus, it seems that the word *sāṇa* here does not stand for the name of a place, as has been taken by some scholars, but only refers to the *dress* which Sambhūta used to put on.

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[1] *Sutta-Nipāta,* v. 456.

[2] *Ibid.,* v. 487.

[3] *Petavatthu,* p. 34.

[4] *Jātaka,* III, p. 22.

[5] *Ibid.,* IV, p. 380.

[6] *Vinaya Mahāvagga,* viii, 3. 1, p. 281.

[7] *Sacred Books of the East,* Vol. XVII, pp. 196-97.

[8] *Vinaya Mahāvagga,* i, 30. 4, p. 58; i, 77. 1, p. 96.

[9] *Sacred Books of the East,* Vol. XIII, p. 173.

Site of the Council.

The next point to be discussed is the site at which the Council was actually held. All the Pāli traditions agree as to the exact venue of the Second Buddhist Council at Vālikārāma (var. Vālukārāma) in Vesālī, while the *Dīpavaṃsa* alone takes it to be Kuṭāgārasālā at Mahāvana in the same city. We know from the *Cullavagga* that the monks met in an assembly at Sahajāti, where, at the suggestion of Revata, the place was transferred to Vesālī on the ground that if the dispute was settled there, i.e. at Sahajāti, the bhikkhus of Vesālī, the place of origin of the Ten Points, might press for a fresh discussion (sace mayaṃ imaṃ adhikaraṇaṃ *idha* vūpasameyyāma siyāpi *mūladāyakā* bhikkhū punakammāya ukkoṭeyyum).[1] Here, *idha* undoubtedly means 'Sahajāti', while *mūladāyakā* refers to 'the Vesalian monks'. The *Mahāvaṃsa*, too, supports it in the following verse:

> '*Mūlaṭṭhehi* vinā vatthusamanaṃ ṇeva rocayi
> thero, sabbe pi bhikkhū te *Vesāliṃ* agamuṃ tato.'[2]

(And the thera would not end the dispute save in the presence of those with whom it had begun, lit. without those who were at the root; therefore all the bhikkhus went thence to Vesālī.)[3] This verse, further, explicitly states that *mūlaṭṭhehi* signifies the *bhikkhus of Vesālī*. The word *tato* refers to *Sahajātiyam* in v. 34 (cf. Revatattheramūlamhi *Sahajātiyam* ettha tu . . .). Now this slight discrepancy about the site may be explained in this way. The compiler of the *Dīpavaṃsa*, without properly consulting the definitely earlier account in the *Cullavagga*, places the venue of the assembly at Kuṭāgārasālā, the original place of the tangle, where the monks, coming from Sahajāti, actually flocked together for a discussion. But, as can be had from the *Cullavagga*, when they failed to carry on with the proceedings owing to the disturbance created by the assembled monks they selected a committee of eight representatives of eastern and western bhikkhus and repaired to Vālikārāma, a beautiful place free from all sorts of noise (ayaṃ kho Vālikārāmo ramaṇīyo appasaddo appanigghoso)[1] to decide the points at issue (atha kho therā bhikkhū Vālikārāmaṃ agamaṃsu taṃ adhikaraṇaṃ vinicchitukāmo).[2] The *Mahāvaṃsa* also speaks in the same tone as can be inferred from the following verses:

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[1] *Cullavagga*, xii, 2. 4, p. 303.

[2] *Mahāvaṃsa*, ch. iv, v. 36.

[3] *Mahāvaṃsa*, pp. 22-3.

> Mūlaṭṭhehi vinā vatthusamanaṃ neva rocayi
> thero, sabbe pi bhikkhū te Vesāliṃ agamuṃ tato.[3]
> Sametuṃ tāni vatthūni appasaddaṃ anākulaṃ
> agamuṃ Vālikārāmaṃ aṭṭha therā anāsavā. . .[4]

The Tibetan version of this Council, however, is of no help to us, which simply states that it was held at Vesālī. Hiuen Tsang makes the Council to have taken place 14 or 15 li to the south-east of the city of Vesālī where he noticed a tope marking the 'place where the 700 eminent sages made the second compilation' (shih-ch'i-pai-hsien-sheng-chung-chie-chi-ch'u). Watters informs us that in the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya the name of the place where the Council was held was known as the *She-tui Saṅghārāma* (i.e. sand-heap monastery) while the other Chinese versions call it *P'o-li-ka yuan* or *P'o-li-yuan* or *P'o-li-lin*, corresponding to the *Vālikārāma* of the Pāli scriptures. Taking all these traditions into account it can be well said that the Council actually took place at Vālikārāma and not at Kuṭāgārasālā (of the Mahāvana) as has been adduced by the *Dīpavaṃsa*.

Bhikkhus taking part in the Council.

The last point to consider is the number of persons who assembled together to discuss the Ten Points. There is practically no difference of opinion among the various sources that the idea of holding the Council first struck the mind of Yasa. Thus, in the *Cullavagga*, we see Yasa arriving at Kosambī, sending messengers to the monks of the west and Avanti-Dakkhiṇāpatha with the request to settle the dispute before *adhamma* and *avinaya* win mastery over *dhamma* and *vinaya*, i.e. before the regime of wrong prevails over that of the right (āgacchantu āyasmantā, imaṃ adhikaraṇaṃ ādiyissāma, pure adhammo dippati dhammo paṭibāhīyati, avinayo dippati vinayo paṭibāhīyati, pure adhammavādino balavanto honti dhammavādino dubbalā honti, avinayavādino balavanto honti vinayavādino dubbalā hontī ti).[5] The *Mahāvaṃsa* also states that the thera, i.e. Yasa, going through the air, got down at Kosambī, and sent messengers to the monks of Pāvā (var. Pāṭheyyakā, i.e. of the west) and Avantī.

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[1] *Cullavagga*, xii, 2. 7, p. 306.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Mahāvaṃsa*, ch. iv, v. 36.

[4] *Ibid.*, v. 50.

[5] *Cullavagga*, xii, 1. 7, p. 298.

> Cf. Thero uggamma nabhasā gantvā Kosambiyaṃ ṭhito
> Pāveyyakāvantikānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ santikaṃ lahuṃ
> pesesi dūte. . . . .[1]

Yasa further approached the theras like Sambhūta, Revata and others and entreated them in the same language. From the Chinese account, again, we learn that Yasada (evidently Yasa of Pāli account) approached the senior theras personally and requested them to hold a Council. Thus, Watters seems to be right when he says that it was Yasada who started the agitation against the Vajjian monks and that it was his action which led to the meeting of the Council.[2]

The *Cullavagga* gives the number of the bhikkhus who attended the Council as 700, while the Ceylonese chronicles and *Samantapāsādikā* furnish us with two different numbers, viz. 700 and 1200,000. The northern versions, however, mention only 700 monks. This difference has puzzled many scholars. Kern goes so far as to say that 'the later Siṃhalese documents pretend to know much more of the Council of Vaiśālī than the canonical Vinaya. They give in substance what is found in the sacred texts, but with additions which partly are not warranted by, and partly positively conflicting with the canonical record. Thus the *Dīpavaṃsa* one time fixes the number of those who attended the Second Council at 700, another time at 1,200,000'.[3] But there is nothing conflicting in this. A careful study of the account of the Council as recorded in the *Mahāvaṃsa* will convince a reader that 1,200,000 monks actually attended the *sannipāta*, i.e. the general assembly, which took place at Kuṭāgārasālā, wherefrom 700 arhats were chosen for the *saṅgīti*, i.e. the Council, which was convened at Vālikārāma, where the Vinaya and possibly also the Dhamma had been recited.

With all respects to Dr. Geiger, I must say that it was he alone who should be blamed for this confusion among the scholars. His defective translation of the 60th verse of the fourth chapter of the *Mahāvaṃsa* is, I think, the sole cause of this confusion. The verse runs as follows:

> Bhikkhū satasahassāni dvādasāsuṃ samāgatā;
> sabbesaṃ Revatatthero bhikkhūnaṃ pamukho tadā.

It has been translated by Geiger as: '*One hundred and twelve thousand* bhikkhus had come together, and of all these bhikkhus the thera Revata was the chief.'[1] But the right rendering should be '*twelve hundred thousand bhikkhus*, etc.' Apparently the difficulty seems to lie with the clause 'bhikkhū satasahassāni dvādasāsum samāgatā'. But there is nothing puzzling in this. The *Mahāvaṃsa*, the exigencies of metre of its poetry necessitated such a composition, is full of such idioms: cf. 'sālivāhasahassāni navutiṃ tu suvā pana'[2]; 'titthiyānaṃ sahassāni nikkaḍḍhitvāna saṭṭhi so'[3]; 'purisānaṃ dasaḍḍehi satehi parivārito'.[4] Geiger also seems to have detected the flaw as can be inferred from his following statement: 'But when the Dīp. (*Dīpavaṃsa*) 5. 20 speaks of 1,200,000 who took part in the Council it does not contradict itself in this. By this naturally exaggerated number the Dīp. means those who took part in the General Assembly. Mah. (*Mahāvaṃsa*) 4. 60 and Smp. (*Samantapāsādikā*) 294 give for this the same number.'[5] But, unfortunately Geiger has not corrected the defect in his translation.

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[1] *Mahāvaṃsa*, ch. iv, vv. 17-8.
[2] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, p. 74.
[3] Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 105.

The following lines of the *Mahāvaṃsa* have troubled some scholars as to the exact number of monks who attended the Council. The statement is:

'Revatattheramūlamhi Sahajātiyam ettha tu
bhikkhū *satasahassāni ekādasa* samāgatā
navuti ca sahassāni āhu taṃ vatthusantiyā.'[6]

(Here in Sahajāti *eleven hundred and ninety thousand* bhikkhus were come together under the thera Revata, to bring the dispute to a peaceful end.[7])

Geiger's faulty translation of the 60th verse of the fourth chapter of the *Mahāvaṃsa* mentioned above has been the sole cause of misapprehension among scholars like Dr. R. C. Majumdar whose observation is evidently based on Geiger's rendering. Dr. Majumdar, in his dissertation on the Buddhist Councils, has said: 'The *Mahāvaṃsa* puts the number of Bhikkhus on the side of Yasa as eleven hundred and ninety thousand. Later on, however, it gives the number as one hundred and twelve thousand, from whom 700 were chosen by Revata to form the Council. Buddhaghosa also puts the number of assembled Bhikkhus as 1200,000 though he refers to the Council of 700.'[8] Again, while commenting on the historical character of the Council he has remarked: 'We can thus sweep away, at one stroke, the legendary number of the members of the Assembly, ultimately reaching the astounding figure of

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[1] *Mahāvaṃsa*, tr., p. 24.

[2] *Ibid.*, ch. v, v. 29.

[3] *Ibid.*, v. 74.

[4] *Ibid.*, v. 122.

[5] *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. lv, f.n. 2.

[6] *Ibid.*, ch. v, vv. 34-5.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[8] Law, *Buddhistic Studies*, pp. 51-2.

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1200,000.'[1] As it appears Dr. Majumdar has fallen into some confusion with the two numbers, 1190,000 and 1200,000. But there is nothing confusing in this. From a study of the verses quoted above it is apparent that 1190,000 bhikkus, with Revata in the forefront, assembled at *Sahajāti* to settle the dispute. The *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*,[2] the commentary of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, explains this more clearly when it says 'ettha *Sahajātiyaṃ* eva dasavatthu-upasamanatthāya taṃ Revatattheraṃ āhaṃsū ti', i.e. here, at *Sahajāti*, they (the bhikkhus) asked the thera Revata to settle the Ten Points. The *Cullavagga* also gives support to our contention when it says 'atha kho saṃgho taṃ adhikaraṇaṃ vinicchitukāmo sannipati'.[3] From a study of the context of this passage it becomes evident that the bhikkhus met together at Sahajāti where Yasa and his followers overtook Revata after a fruitless search through a number of places on way from the Ahogaṅga hill to Sahajāti. Then at the suggestion of Revata the venue of the assembly was shifted to Vesālī, for, it did not appear wise to Revata to hold a discussion and settle the points at issue in the absence of those who were responsible for the origin of the trouble. Evidently it refers to the Vajjian monks who had their stronghold at Vesālī. Both the *Cullavagga* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* are unanimous about it. The former says: 'atha kho āyasmā Revato saṃghaṃ ñāpesi: sunātu me āvuso saṃgho. Sace mayaṃ adhikaraṇaṃ idha vūpasameyyāma siyāpi mūladāyakā bhikkhū punakammāya ukkoṭeyyuṃ. Yadi saṃghassa pattakallaṃ, yatth' ev' imaṃ adhikaraṇaṃ samuppannaṃ, saṃgho tatth' ev' imaṃ adhikaraṇaṃ vūpasameyyā' ti. Atha kho therā bhikkhū Vesāliṃ agamaṃsu taṃ adhikaraṇaṃ vinicchitukāmā.'[4]
(And the venerable Revata laid a resolution before the Saṃgha, saying, 'Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. If we were to settle this question, it might be that those Bhikkhus who had at first taken the matter in hand might raise it again. If it seem meet to the Saṃgha, let the Saṃgha settle it at that place where it arose'. Then the Thera Bhikkhus went to Vesālī, with the intention of settling the matter there.[5])

The *Mahāvaṃsa* writes:

> 'Mūlaṭṭhehi vinā vatthusamanaṃ neva rocayi
> thero, sabbe pi bhikkhū te Vesāliṃ agamuṃ tato.'[6]

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[1] Law, *Buddhistic Studies*, p. 57.

[2] *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, Vol. I, p. 103.

[3] *Cullavagga*, xii, 2. 4, p. 303.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XX, pp. 403-04.

[6] *Mahāvaṃsa*, ch. iv, v. 36.

So, the monks, numbering 1190,000, who assembled at Sahajāti repaired to Vesālī where the number increased to 1200,000. Thus, at Vesālī we find the increase in the total number of bhikkhus by 10,000. This rise by 10,000 heads can be explained by a reference to the following verses of the *Mahāvaṃsa* :

> Niggahaṃ pāpabhikkhūnaṃ dasavatthukadīpinaṃ
> *tesaṃ dasasahassānaṃ* mahātherā akaṃsu te.[1]
> Tehi saṃgītikārehi therehi dutiyehi te
> niggahitā pāpabhikkhū sabbe *dasasahassakā*
> akaṃs' ācariyavādaṃ te Mahāsaṃghikanāmakaṃ. . .[2]

(And thus did the great theras refute the teaching of *those ten thousand heretical bhikkhus* who maintained the Ten Points.[3] The *heretical bhikkhus*, subdued by the theras who had held the Second Council, in all *ten thousand*, founded the school which bears the name Mahāsaṃghika.[4])

From these verses it becomes clear that, at Vesālī, there were 10,000 monks whom the orthodox bhikkhus described as heretical, whereupon they walked out of the orthodox fold and held a separate Council, called the Mahāsaṅghika Council. These 10,000 monks were definitely absent at Sahajāti. This gains support from the statement in the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, which, while explaining 'bhikkhū satasahassāni dvādas' āsuṃ samāgatā' says[5] : 'dvādas' āsun ti *dasasahassehi pāpabhikkhūhi saddhiṃ Mahāvanamhi samāgatā bhikkhū dvādasasatasahassāni ahesun* ti attho', i.e. the monks, assembled at Mahāvana, *including the 10,000 heretical bhikkhus, numbered 1200,000.* Further, had the so-called 10,000 heretical monks been present at Sahajāti Revata's statement about the *mūladāyakā bhikkhus* cannot be explained. These so-called heretical monks flocked to the assembly which was convened in their own homeland, i.e. at Vesālī. So there is the justification for the rise to 1200,000 from 1190,000. This point will be clear from a study of the 34th, 35th, 55th and 60th verses of the fourth chapter of the *Mahāvaṃsa.* (All these verses have been quoted above.)

From the above-mentioned verses it is evident that 1190,000 bhikkhus assembled at Sahajāti to discuss the Ten Points, but, at the suggestion of Revata, the President of the Council, the venue was shifted to Vesālī where the number was increased by 10,000 Vajjian monks thus giving the final figure of 1,200,000.

It should be remarked, however, that the figure, namely 1200,000, given for the monks who are said to have assembled at

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[1] *Mahāvaṃsa*, ch. iv, v. 55.

[2] *Ibid.*, ch. v, vv. 3-4.

[3] *Mahāvaṃsa*, tr., p. 24.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[5] *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, Vol. I, p. 168.

Kuṭāgārasālā to discuss the validity of the Ten Points, as has been given by the *Mahāvaṃsa*, seems to have been exaggerated by its compiler, for, we have grave doubts that a hall, better say a pandal, however big it might be, could accommodate as many as twelve lakhs of bhikkhus! But the present dissertation on this point is meant for an explanation of the 60th verse of the fourth chapter of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the faulty translation of which has given rise to so much confusion among some modern scholars.

MISCELLANEA

THE NĀLANDĀ AND GAYĀ PLATES OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

I confess I am a tyro in the subject of Indian epigraphy. Nevertheless, I am very much interested in the religious history of India. I had therefore to study Nālandā Plate of Samudragupta. As Mr. A. Ghosh has correctly remarked, Dr. Hirananda Sastri rejects it as spurious and Dr. Bhandarkar leaves the matter open.[1] He is, however, inclined to think that both these documents are spurious and that the dates thereof need not be taken seriously for historical purposes. But Mr. Ghosh quotes in a footnote the opinion of the great epigraphist R. D. Banerji that in the face of the mass of new evidence it is impossible to believe at the present day that the Gayā copperplate grant of the 9th year of Samudragupta is forged, that it cannot be regarded as spurious in the same light as the Sudi Plates and that according to him it is genuine. This is what Banerji has said in regard to the Gayā Plate which has been ascribed by Fleet to about the beginning of the eighth century. But the palaeography of the Nālandā Plate, says Mr. Ghosh, 'shows Gupta forms throughout and has the same features as the early Gupta records'. If this is the case, not only Gayā, but also Nālandā, Plate must be taken as genuine if we are to follow the guidance of the veteran epigraphist R. D. Banerji. But there is ungrammatical construction in the genealogical portion of both, namely, ... *uchchhēttuḥ* .... *apratirathasya* .... *prapauttrasya* .... *puttrasya* .... *dauhittrasya* .... *utpannaḥ Samudraguptaḥ*. 'It is puzzling', says Mr. Ghosh, 'why the secretariate of Samudragupta should have committed such a silly error in giving the genealogy of its master.' These puzzles, however, are furnished by not a few copperplate grants which have been taken as genuine. Thus to take a fresh instance, the Bāsim Plates of Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti have .... *chaturāśvamēdha-yājinas=samrāja Vṛishṇivṛiddha-sagotrasya* .... *śrī-Pravarasēna-pautrasya* .... *śrī-Sarvvasēna-putrasya* .... *śrī-Vindhyaśaktēr*. This inscription has been edited both by Dr. D. C. Sircar and Prof. Mirashi who have made these corrections .... *śrī-Pravarasēnasya pautrasya* .... *śrī-Sarvasēnasya putrasya* .... *śrī-Vindhyaśakter*. How was then this grammatical construction tolerated in the genealogical portion of its master in the secretariate of Vindhyaśakti? Did not this ungrammatical construction mislead Mr. Y. K. Deshpande and Mr. D. B. Mahajan, who originally edited the inscription?[1] Can Mr. Ghosh or Dr. Sircar kindly explain? And what is the most silly error is that the *gōtra* of the master's family given by the Bāsim record is Vṛishṇivṛiddha, and not Vishṇuvṛiddha, which is invariably given in the other Vākāṭaka grants and which, says Prof. Mirashi, 'is evidently the correct form, for it is the only form of the *gōtra* given by the standard works on *gōtras* and pravaras'.[2] Are Mr. Ghosh and Dr. Sircar therefore prepared to consider the Bāsim grant as a spurious record? Or we may take that group of plates which were issued by the Bhañja rulers of Orissa. Can we find any epigraphic records which are grammatically worse than these? Are Mr. Ghosh and Dr. Sircar prepared to throw them wholesale overboard as spurious documents and not to be considered seriously for historical purposes? I have a purpose in asking this question, because before long I want to discuss whether Samudragupta can be considered as Parama-Bhāgavata as the Nālandā and Gayā grants give us to understand.

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[1] *E.I.*, Vol. XXV, p. 51.

SAKUNTALA RAO SASTRI.

PARAMA-BHĀGAVATA SAMUDRAGUPTA

The Nālandā and Gayā Plates speak of Samudragupta as Parama-Bhāgavata. As there is no good reason to doubt the genuineness of these plates, we have to take it that Samudragupta was a Parama-Bhāgavata. But unfortunately both Mr. A. Ghosh and Dr. D. C. Sircar have declared them to be spurious records. In my note on this subject published above I have tried to show that their conclusion does not rest on a sound basis. Setting aside, however, this question for the time being, let us see whether there is any extraneous evidence in favour of what the Plates say about the religious persuasion of Samudragupta. In August 1941 the idefatigable Sanskrit scholar, Rajvaidya Jivaram Kalidas Shastri of Gondal, published *Rasashala Series* No. 19, entitled *Kṛishṇacaritaṁ* composed by Samudragupta. Unfortunately only the manuscript of the *prastāvanā* of this work could be traced in his library. It is in two parts, each of which ends with the colophon

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[1] *Proc. Ind. His. Cong.*, 1939, p. 451.

[2] *E.I.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 138.

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iti śrī-Vikramāṅka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramabhāgavata-śrī-Samudragupta-kṛitau Kṛishṇa-charitē kathā-prastāvanāyāṁ, etc. Does this not show that Samudragupta was not only Parama-Bhāgavata but also Vikramāṅka? Is this evidence to be set at naught? I am told that Pandit Kshitis Chandra Chatterji doubts the genuineness of this work on internal evidence. I am sorry I have not the good fortune to know where his criticism or review has been printed. At any rate nothing is lost in threshing out this question in the *Indian Culture* which is more well known and more accessible to scholars than the *Calcutta Oriental Journal*.

What is strange is that Dr. Sircar relies a little too much on *argumentum ab silentio*. Because Samudragupta is not called Parama-Bhāgavata in any Gupta inscriptions or on his coins, therefore he cannot be styled Parama-Bhāgavata. This seems to be the argument of Dr. Sircar. What is more strange is his assertion that 'Samudragupta might have been a Vaiṣṇava, but he was evidently not a Bhāgavata, i.e. follower of the Bhāgavata form of Vaiṣṇavism'. Will he please tell us what this Vaiṣṇavism was as apart from Bhāgavatism in the time of Samudragupta? Students of religious history like my humble self will be highly indebted to him. I wanted to say something about Samudragupta's epithet *chir-ōtsann-āśvamēdhāharttuḥ*. But I refrain from doing so for the present.

S. R. S.

A POSTSCRIPT ON THE SĀVITRĪ UPANIṢAD

In my article entitled 'Śāntipāṭha and the Affiliation of Upaniṣads',[1] I tried to show that the Sāvitrī Upaniṣad (= SU) of a later date, as mentioned in the Muktikā Upaniṣad and published in the Nirṇayasāgara Press, is really an Atharvaṇic treatise in spite of its Sāmavedic Śānti. But is there any reason why it has its Śānti been so recorded? For a discussion of this point I add here a note which will not run counter to my original proposition that it is in fact an AV-Upaniṣad.

So far we have been in possession, as I could trace, of three versions of SU at least, namely, the one incorporated in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (= GB, I. 1. 31–38), the other in the Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa (= JUB, IV. 12), and the third and last being the SU of the Muktikā-list. Now the question arises, upon what version, whether that of GB or JUB, is based the latest SU?

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[1] *Indian Culture*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 253ff.

Apparently one may read a deliberate attempt on the part of GB to have varnished the JUB version. On the first analysis it seems to bear an Atharvaṇic tinge with a Sāmavedic setting. The philosophical, or rather mystical, duel of GB is preluded by the meeting of the two rival sages, Glāva Maitreya and Maudgalya. Bloomfield[1] cautiously establishes the datum that the former, namely Glāva, is uncontestably and 'apparently an adherent of the Sāmaveda', but strangely enough, I must add, he leaves the case of Maudgalya undecided altogether. This latter sage must have been a scholar associated with the Ṛgvedic tradition, a fact which may be proved by a number of references from both the Vedic and the classical literatures.[2] The latest SU deals with the nine mystic pairs[3] as in JUB-SU, none of which accounts has been introduced by any such theological contention as that of GB. There are, however, a few discrepancies of secondary importance: such as, *tatra*, *candramas*, *saḥ* (SU) instead of *tat*, *candraḥ*, *tat* (JUB-SU) respectively. But by far the most important and significant discord lies in two facts: (1) that the account of JUB indulges into an esoteric or symbolic interpretation of the three *pādas* of the Gāyatrī verse (Ṛv., III. 62. 10) one by one, next, the first two pādas (= the first half-verse), next, the third pāda (= the second half-verse), and in fine, all together. This is also the normal order of the Gṛhyasūtras. On the other hand, SU abruptly and inconsistently stops at the exposition of the three pādas one after another and does not proceed further. (2) Another point of difference is that a considerable portion of SU having an Atharvanic bearing does not form a part, organic or otherwise, of the JUB-SU.

Now one may ask which one of the two Brāhmaṇas, GB and JUB, is the earlier. It is admitted on all hands that the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa of which the whole has not been published as yet goes back to a remote period of the Brāhmaṇic literature, and that GB is long antedated by it. But JB and JUB are two distinct texts, the latter partaking the nature of the Āraṇyaka-*cum*-Upaniṣad literature. It embodies two Upaniṣads, one is the famous Kena

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[1] Atharva Veda and Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (Grundriss), p. 110.

[2] Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Bhāgavata Purāṇa, etc. Of course there is a Maudgalya referred to as the maker of a Sūtra work in the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (ed. Dr. Caland), XX (Dvaidha-sūtra), 1; 13; etc. But he seems to be a different person.

[3] The nine pairs are as follows: (1) Fire and Earth, (2) Varuṇa and Waters, (3) Wind and Firmament, (4) Sacrifice and Metres, (5) Cloud and Lightning, (6) Sun and Heaven, (7) Moon and Asterisms, (8) Mind and Speech, and (9) Male and Female. It requires to be noted with care that only six pairs out of the nine as dealt with in GB are to be found in the other two SUs.

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or Talavakāra and the other, the Sāvitrī. The former is definitely of a Sāmavedic school, and the Jaiminīyas are also a school of this Veda.[1] The scholastic cohesion of JUB is further proved by the fact that it contains many good parallels to the Chāndogya, a Sāmavedic Upaniṣad.

Thus it will be reasonable to affix to it the period heralding the dawn of the earliest Upaniṣads which are not yet shorn of the Āraṇyaka materials, although the later Brāhmaṇic prose is everywhere visible in it.

The foregoing discussion leads us to maintain that the collocation 'Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa' appears rather faulty. In my humble opinion it might as well be 'Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad'—the word 'Upaniṣad' here would represent a combined Ārayṇaka and Upaniṣad type as held above. It is known that there has nowhere been recorded any Āraṇyaka of the Jaiminīya school the place of which may unhesitatingly be given to this treatise. In the whole array of the Brāhmaṇas GB comes last, and the account of the Gāyatrī (= Sāvitrī) therein looks older of the two. As chronologically (and logically too) GB precedes JUB (there being also no indication of the GB-passage being an interpolation), it has got to be admitted that the GB-version necessarily proves to be the earlier one.

It may be a fact the Gāyatrī verse owing to its very nature has readily been accredited with a dignified position throughout the entire range of the Vedic rituals as represented by the Brāhmaṇas, Śrautas and Gṛhyas. The last class of the above-mentioned triad comes forward generally with the prescript that this particular Ṛgvedic verse should be recited by the initiates irrespective of the Vedic schools which they are attached to. In this way, we may conjecture, a slow process of transference of traditions is noticeable during the later Vedic epoch itself. In the light of this speculation we may state that GB might have selected this verse and expanded it into an independent Upaniṣad quite naturally. The simple mention of the name of Glāva Maitreya in GB is no guarantee to the conclusion that it is of the Sāmavedic origin, because we have got also the name of Maudgalya juxtaposed to that of Glāva. As we have mentioned above, Maudgalya happens to be a Ṛgvedic sage and ultimately conquers his theologian adversary. The later redactors have perhaps looked up to the SU as forming a part of JUB and have failed to take notice of the GB-version which has reached the Muktikā-SU *en route* the former. Thus it stands in the following chronological order: GB-SU>JUB-SU>M-SU. Speaking in general terms, the versions of GB, JUB and SU fall within the Brāhmaṇic, Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣadic and Purāṇic periods respectively. The reason as pointed above is responsible for the attribution of the SV-śānti to SU as well as for the declaration as such in the Muktikā that it is in reality a Sāmavedic Upaniṣad.

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[1] Vyāsa is said to have transmitted the Sāmaveda to Jaimini, his pupil, cf. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, I. 4. 21.

JAGADISH CHANDRA MITRA.

REVIEWS

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, BARODA STATE, FOR 1936-37, by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, 1938, pp. 1–46 with 14 plates.

This Report contains an account of the progress made by the Archaeological Department of the Baroda State for 1936–37. It is interesting to note that some forty new inscriptions of historical and epigraphic importance dating from the year 745 up to 1852 A.D. were secured and examined by the Department during this period. The most important of them belongs to the reign of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughlak Shah. The account of the excavations at Amreli where 2,000 silver coins of the Gupta Emperor, Kumāragupta I, were unearthed, is very useful. The book closes with a Hollander's description of Baroda about 1625 A.D. by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.

B. C. LAW.

NĀLANDĀ AND ITS EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL, by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 66, 1942.

This Memoir deals particularly with the epigraphical material discovered at Nālandā since the excavations started by the late Dr. Spooner in 1916. Describing the topography of Nālandā, the author gives in the introduction (1) a short account of Bargāon and Sārichak, (2) Tibetan and Chinese accounts of Nālandā, and (3) references to Nālandā in Jaina, Buddhist and Brahmanical literature. The account of the structural remains and clay seals of Nālandā reveals some interesting facts of historical importance.

H. P. G.

THE MINOR ANTHOLOGIES OF THE PALI CANON, PT. IV (SACRED BOOKS OF THE BUDDHISTS)—VIMĀNAVATTHU: STORIES OF THE MANSIONS AND PETAVATTHU (STORIES OF THE DEPARTED), translated by Jean Kennedy and Henry S. Gehman respectively. Edited with introduction by Mrs. Rhys Davids. Luzac & Co., London, 1942.

For a long time these two books of the Pali Canon remained untranslated into English. Dr. B. C. Law in his 'Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective' (1925) and 'The Buddhist Conception of Spirits' (1936) have made use of these books and their commentaries and presented a very readable summary. Now a long-felt want has been removed by the publication of this translation in 250 pages. The translators have acquitted themselves creditably and their translations will be of great use to scholars and students alike. In the book of Spirit, the ghost in simple fashion tells his case to a monk who then informs the Buddha. We know that a spirit could be released from the purgatory by the devotion of friends and the concomitant transfer of merit. A spirit may through supererogation be reborn in heaven. Existence in heaven is not permanent and by no means implies the end of the successive rebirths. It is undoubtedly a serious blemish in the working out of the law of cause and effect. The translator has discussed in the introduction to the Vimānavatthu, the question of the date of the composition of this work. He seems to have accepted Dr. Law's date. (B. C. Law, History of Pali Literature, p. 36). The translation on the whole is quite readable and this book can be safely recommended to those interested in the topics of heaven and hell.

D. GUHA.

THE BOOK OF THE DISCIPLINE (SUTTAVIBHAṄGA, VINAYA PIṬAKA), Vols. I and II, translated by Miss I. B. Horner, M.A., Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London, 1938 and 1940.

It is excellent translation of the Suttavibhaṅga of the Vinaya Piṭaka and we can strongly recommend it to every serious student of Buddhist Vinaya. The translator is to be congratulated on the excellent manner in which she has acquitted herself in her most difficult task. It is undoubtedly a great improvement on Oldenberg's translation. Footnotes given at the bottom of each page have greatly enhanced the value of the book under review. The introduction is very useful and interesting. We can safely accept many renderings of the translator, e.g., *bhikkhu*, *samaṇa*, *dhamma*, etc. This new translation will be welcome by all engaged in the study of the Vinaya literature.

D. L. BARUA.

INDIAN ART AND LETTERS, New Series, Vol. XVII, No. 2. Second Issue for 1943. Published by the India Society, London, 1943. 5s. per issue.

The Journal opens with a paper on *Recent Trends in Bengali Literature* by Mr. Sisir K. Mukherjea. Speaking on the Contemporary Bengali Literature, Mr. Mukherjea has presented vividly a well-balanced critical survey of the various types of writings, literature, novel and poetry. The modern Bengali painting founded by Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore and the Bengali popular songs have not escaped his attention. 'The literature of Bengal,' says Mr. Mukherjea, 'has more than a literary interest, for it does reflect adequately the social, religious and political temper of the people. This may be true of all literature, but it is true of Bengali literature in a special sense. For the civilization of Bengal has a literary bias . . . the enthusiasm of the people for literature is as great as their passion for religion or politics.' The development of the various aspects of the different types of novels has been dealt with in an interesting manner. The distinctive traits of famous novelists from Bankimchandra downwards dealt with by the writer bear testimony to his intensive critical study. The lyricism of Candidāsa, the erotic mysticism of Jayadeva, and the ever-fascinating poems of Rabindranath have been discussed with credit.

The paper on *Tibetan Art* by Mr. J. C. French deals with the primitive art of Tibet, the source of which has been traced to the early Buddhistic art of India. The critical survey of the chronological development of the Tibetan art and the influence of India and China thereon in different periods is sure to evoke great interest in serious students of Fine Arts. The author has given in this paper some beautiful illustrations. *City Development in India and Britain—Some Comparisons* by B. S. Townroe gives a short historical account of townplanning in Græco-Roman days, in India and in London, and makes some suggestions regarding the post-war reconstruction in the East and the West. *Some Observations on the Hindustani Language* by Mr. Mulk Raj Anand traces the origin and development of Hindustani which is, according to him, the result of a mixture of the dialects spoken in Northern India in the ninth and tenth centuries. The other note worthy articles are *Archaeological Work in the State of Baroda* by A. S. Gadre, *The Music of Greater India* by Dennis Stoll, *The Government School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow,* by F. H. Andrews, and *Some British Admirers of Indian Culture* by R. G. Shahani.

H. P. G.

OBITUARY

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA Dr. R. SHAMA SHASTRY, B.A., Ph.D.

We regret very much the death of Dr. R. Shama Shastry who was a veteran Sanskrit scholar of South India. He was well known for his edition of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and its English translation. He edited the ninth volume of the South Indian Inscriptions which is undoubtedly a monumental work. He was for some time the Principal of the Government Sanskrit College, Bangalore. Even after his retirement, he used to carry on his researches till the time of his passing away. He was a great scholar and a devoted worker. He lived a very simple life of a Brahmin. In his death we have lost a great South Indian Sanskrit scholar, and the world of Oriental scholarship has been greatly affected by his death.

B. C. L.

RULES

The Journal, which is a quarterly one, will be issued annually in four parts in July, October, January, and April. The inland subscription is Rs.6 (including postage) and foreign subscription is 10 shillings (including postage) per annum, payable in advance. Each copy is priced at Rs.2 (inland) and 3*s.* 6*d.* (foreign). The rates of advertisements may be ascertained on application to the Managing Director at 170 Maniktala Street, Calcutta, to whom all remittances should be sent. Any change of address should be promptly intimated to him. In case of non-delivery within a fortnight from the approximate date of publication, the office should be informed at once. Luzac & Co., London, and the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore, are the selling agents.

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Oriental Lit. Digest (1936, No. 2).—The present monograph on Kauśāmbī has been presented by Dr. Law in the same careful and systematic manner as characterized his monograph on Rājagṛha noticed by us already in the O.L.D. (II, 176) . . . ably records and examines all the sources of evidence about an ancient place-name hallowed by its association with Buddha and ruled over by the Vatsa King Udayana, the last great king of the Bhārata dynasty.

Hindusthan Standard (August 6, 1939).— . . . Based on literary sources, Brahmanical, Jaina and Buddhist, and the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims, the monograph gives an account of the ancient historic city of Kauśāmbī, the capital of the Vatsas, important alike because of its political and religious associations . . . . use has been made of considerable original material hitherto unused.

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VII. RAJAGRIHA IN ANCIENT LITERATURE

Contents: *Different names: their origin and significance—General description and topography—Antiquity and history of Rajagriha—Antiquity and location of five hills—Rajagriha in religious history—Architecture of Rajagriha.*

OPINIONS

Dr. Johnston.—Excellent memoir on Rajagriha. It puts the known information about it together in a most convenient way.

Dr. Barnett.—An admirable piece of scholarly workmanship.

Sir Edward Maclagan.—. . . . valuable work. I have found it exceedingly interesting and venture to express my admiration of the erudition and scholarship which have gone to its making. You had a very attractive subject to deal with and what you seem to have given is the last word on all that is to be said about it.

Mrs. Rhys Davids.—Handsome study of *Rajagriha.*

Dr. Otto Stein.—You have to be congratulated for the enterprise with which you have taken up the topography of renowned cities in Ancient India in monographs. By collecting every detail about the town Rājagriha after your monograph on *Śrāvastī* you have contributed a new chapter to the work which I presume will be continued by your indefatigable enthusiasm for the Geography and History of Ancient India.

Dr. W. Geiger.—. . . . . valuable present. Such detailed studies of Indian history and topography as your admirable monograph on Rājagriha are indeed urgently needed; and they are an excellent help to all who are engaged in Indological research, chiefly to the European scholars who are so far away from that wonderful country which is so rich in historical reminiscences.

Dr. E. J. Thomas.—. . . . valuable work on Rājagriha in ancient literature. It contains a great amount of interesting information which will be of great importance to investigators and it will take some time to digest it all.

Oriental Literary Digest (1939, No. 9).—Many an expert in historiography is sometimes guilty of wrong identification of place-names leading to wrong reconstruction of history, which otherwise may be perfect in every respect. To remedy this defect a systematic collection, record and interpretation of geographical data from all known sources is the *sine qua non* of historical studies worth the name. We are, therefore, glad to find an eminent scholar of Dr. Law's reputation undertaking this laborious task in a spirit of service to the cause of our ancient culture and executing it with a thoroughness and comprehension rarely met with in such studies . . . . an exhaustive and systematic account of Rajagriha from all available literary sources, Brahmanical, Jaina and Buddhist, which coupled with the map of Rājagriha already published in the *Archæological Report* for 1905-06 brings out in full historical relief this hallowed place so rich in historical and religious associations. . . . It is difficult in this short notice to indicate the importance of the geographical and historical data recorded in this monograph about Rājagriha, the birth-place of Buddhism. If Lord Buddha praised the sombre beauty of Rājagriha with its hills and retreats with the words : 'Delightful, Ānanda, is Rājagriha' we have no hesitation to say: 'Delightful is *Rājagriha in Ancient Literature*'. The method adopted by Dr. Law in the presentation of his material in this monograph is well worth application to similar studies with reference to many other historic places in India.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE BHĀRATĪ MAHĀVIDYĀLAYA

The Bhāratī Mahāvidyālaya has been started to be developed into one Aryan University on the lines of Gurukulas and Nālandā-Takṣasīlā Universities of the past with modern arrangement for education in all branches of knowledge, on an extensive plot of land by the Ganges near Belur (Howrah). Besides starting of a few schools and colleges of different types, it has taken up different series of publications, viz. Religion, Philosophy, Education, etc. The publications just out are as follows:—

1. Hindu Mysticism—by Dr. Mahendra Nath Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. Vol. I—on Vaiṣṇavism, Rs.2-8-0. Vol. II—on Tāntricism (in the Press).
2. Omkar-O-Gayatrī Tattva (in Bengali)—by Rai Bahadur Sures Chandra Sinha, Vidyārṇava, M.A. Rs. 2-8-0.
3. Hindu Dharmer Avibyakti (in Bengali), Vol. I—by Rai Bahadur Sures Chandra Sinha, Vidyārṇava, M.A. Rs.2-8-0.
4. Jaina System of Education (Extension Lectures of the Mahāvīra Professorship)—by Dr. D. C. Das Gupta, M.A., Ed.D. (Calif.). Rs.3-8-0.
5. Jaina Philosophy (Extension Lectures of the Mahāvīra Professorship)—by Dr. Satkari Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
6. Tattvārtha Sūtram (a rare Jaina MS.).
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TRIBES IN ANCIENT INDIA

By Dr. B. C. Law

OPINIONS

Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute (February, 1944).—Dr. B. C. Law needs no introduction to the scholarly circle. His original contributions to the different branches of Indology particularly Buddhism are too well known. The work under review deals with the tribes of Ancient India. Even before this, Dr. Law had written on the history of tribes, mainly of the Kṣatriya class. In the present work, however, the author has not confined himself to any particular class, but presents to the literary world a 'comprehensive and systematic account of some tribes inhabiting different parts of India, who played an important part in the early history of India'.

In 75 chapters the author has dealt with over one hundred and fifty small and big tribes of ancient India. For the exhaustive treatment of each, the author has ransacked all possible references found scattered in the vast literature of the country. He has utilized all the available sources—Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jain and tried to present them in an interesting manner. Almost all his statements are fully documented which makes the work quite authentic as well. . . . . the book is quite interesting and informative. There is ample matter here for the ancient period of Indian history. The author deserves our congratulation for this important contribution.

Journal of the U.P. Historical Society.—This work is a valuable addition to the vast and varied literature contributed by its erudite author on different aspects of India's history and civilization. It is based upon material derived from works in different languages, Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Tibetan, and Chinese, and also from archaeological sources, inscriptions and coins. It is undeniable that an important part of the history of India is the history of its tribes. In that history is to be found a mine of material bearing upon the interesting and important subject of India's democratic tradition, practice, and procedure, which are even to this day so much doubted by superficial Western students of India's culture-history. From this point of view, the present work is possessed of a value of its own.

The Magnitude of the work will be evident from the fact that it deals with as many as 85 tribes belonging to different parts of India, and to different periods of her history, besides a number of miscellaneous tribes. Most of these Dr. Law rescues from oblivion, and thus restores several forgotten but important chapters of Indian history. The work will serve as an indispensable supplement for a study of the general history of India. Besides purely political history, it throws light upon much social history, and is a valuable study in manners and customs showing a wide range of variety. It is an important work of Ancient Indian sociology, besides being a part of political history. The get-up of the book shows a high standard and quality. The intrinsic interest of its matter is enhanced by the manner in which the matter is presented in language that is at once lucid and logical.

Amrita Bazar Patrika (dated 19-3-44).—Among Indian scholars who have distinguished themselves in the field of Indology, there is perhaps none who has greater understanding of the history of ancient Indian tribes than Dr. B. C. Law. For well over two scores of years, he has written unremittingly and prolifically on the history of these tribes, and the numerous papers and mono-

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graphs he has already published, have not only been enthusiastically received by scholars all over the world, but they rank as authoritative works on the subject. In the monograph under review the author has once again covered the whole field of his research, and though it contains much of the materials that he had already published, yet the variation in the details of content, emphasis and treatment of subject-matter infuses a new and refreshing air into it, and reflects abundantly the author's continued research on the subject and his intensive attention to improve the results of his previous study by shedding new light on many obscure points.

Besides a final chapter devoted to the history of 72 miscellaneous and minor tribes, there are in this book 74 other chapters each comprehensively and systematically dealing with the history of almost all the important tribes of north, south, east, west or central India who had some rôle to play in the early history of India. When it is remembered that the early history of India merely consisted of the story of the supremacy or hegemony of some of these tribes, the importance of this monograph as a factual basis for the writing of ancient Indian history would at once be evident. In the preparation of this monograph the author has ransacked all available sources of information—literary and epigraphic, numismatic and monumental, Brahmanic, Buddhistic and Jainic, Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. Richly packed up as it is with all relevant information on the subject, it can indeed be justifiably called an Encyclopaedia of Ancient Indian Tribes, and the inclusion of a comprehensive index makes the abundance of material in the volume more readily available.

The **Mahabodhi Journal** (Nov.-Dec. 1944).—A book that makes the Indian history complete and which no deep student of Indian history should fail to study. Only an erudite investigator in the field of research and a master of many languages could produce so scholarly a publication. It has certainly required untiring effort to bring out so masterly a volume. There are over seventy tribes mentioned, and the history of each is entered in upon with the greatest care and erudition. The style is such as makes prose poetic and the book is a romance as well as a scholastic production. One feels as living in the past in going through the pages; there is a spirit there that touches the heart as well as the brain.

A map of India, showing the different kingdoms, adds greatly to its interest and a complete index facilitates the study.

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RĀṢṬRIYA VAIŚYA PUṢYAGUPTA AND YAVANARĀJĀ TUṢĀSPHA IN RUDRADĀMAN'S INSCRIPTION

By B. M. BARUA

We learn from the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I that near Girinagara (Girnār) was excavated the Sudarśana Tank by Candragupta Maurya's Vaiśya Rāshṭriya named Puṣyagupta. Subsequently, after the reign of Aśoka (*Aśokasya Mauryasyaṃte*)[1] the Yavanarājā Tuṣāspha built embankments and fitted the same with aqueducts (*adhiṣṭhāya praṇālībhir alaṅkṛtaṃ*). From the new reading *aṃte* in lieu of *kṛte,* it is evident that Tuṣāspha, probably a Perso-Greek from the North-Western region of India,[2] was a post-Aśokan chieftain or independent ruler of Surāshṭra, as well as that the credit for the embankment of the tank and its aqueducts was due not to Aśoka but to Tuṣāspha.

If it be true, as supposed, that Rudradāman had a previous record to guide him regarding the origin of the tank and its embankment, etc., there is no escape from the conclusion that the Vaiśya Puṣyagupta, the excavator of the tank, was a Rāṣṭriya of Candragupta Maurya. Here the whole political and administrative mystery lies round the word Rāṣṭriya which, according to the Amarakoṣa, signifies the brother-in-law (wife's brother) of a king (*rājaśyālas tu rāṣṭriyaḥ*).[3] Amarasiṃha is here guided by the sense in which the word was employed in the Sanskrit dramas. So the commentator Kṣīrasvāmī is justified in pointing out that 'except in a play a Rāṣṭriya is a *Rāṣṭrâdhikṛta,* i.e. an officer appointed to look after or supervise the affairs of a *rāṣṭra,* state or province.[4]

With Kielhorn Puṣygupta, the Vaiśya Rāṣṭriya of Candragupta Maurya, was the provincial governor of Surāṣṭra[5] while with Raychaudhuri he was probably 'a sort of Imperial High Commissioner

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[1] The epigraphists and historians of India have hitherto taken Tuṣāspha to be a governor appointed (*kṛte* completed as *kṛtena*) by Aśoka Maurya. As for the use of *ante,* cf. *Kulasyânte, Āndhrāṇānte* in Pargiter's *Purāṇa Text,* pp. 49, 59.

[2] Kilhorn is responsible for the reading *kṛte* which Dr. Dines Ch. Sircar prefers. Bhau Daji is for completing *te* as *tena,* and Indraji for reading *te* as *tat,* both of which are wide of the mark.

[3] Tuṣāspha being a personal name, Vincent Smith was led to think that the Yavana-rājā bearing this name was a Persian, while the epithet *Yavana-rājā* indicates that he was a Greek.

[4] Amarakoṣa, V. 14.

[5] Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India,* 4th Ed., p. 237.

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whose position was comparable to that of Lord Cromer in Egypt'. Raychaudhuri inclines to identify the Rāṣṭriya with the Rāṣṭrapāla (Rāṣṭrāntapāla?)[1] whose salary was, according to the Arthaśāstra, 'equal to that of a Kumāra or Prince'.[2]

Raychaudhuri's suggestion is evidently based upon the assumption 'that Surāṣṭra was probably an autonomous vassal state, or a confederation of vassal states, and not an imperial province'.[3] The argument which leads him to this conclusion is worth quoting.

'The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra refers to a number of *Saṅghas*, e.g. Kāmboja, Surāṣṭra, etc. The Kāmbojas find prominent mention as a separate unit even in the Thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka. That Surāṣṭra (Kāṭhiāwār) was autonomous in the time of Aśoka seems probable from the reference, in R.E. V, to various nations in the western border (*aparāta*) in addition to those named specifically, and from Rudradāman's inscription at Junāgaḍh which refers to the Rājā, the Yavana Tuṣāspha, the contemporary and vassal of Aśoka. The Yavanarājā was probably a Greek chief of the North-West who was appointed one of the *Mukhyas* or chiefs of the Surāṣṭra Saṃgha by Aśoka, just as Rājā Mān Singh of Amber was appointed Subādār of Bengal by Akbar. His title of Rājā probably indicates that he enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy.'[4]

This observation, which is otherwise very weighty, is shaky for these two reasons:

(i) That the verse in the Arthaśāstra (xi. 1) speaking of the Kāmbhojas, the Surāṣṭras, and the like as the guilds (corporations) of warriors who lived by agriculture, trade, and weilding weapons, as distinguished from others who bore the title of *Rājā*, may be taken to have referred to an earlier state of things; and

(ii) That the new reading *Aśokasya Mauryasyaṃte* renders the contemporaneity of Aśoka and Tuṣāspha highly problematical.

As for the official designation of *Rāṣṭriya*, Buddhaghosa tells us, in one context, that during a processional state-drive of king Ajātaśatru of Magadha the place assigned to the *Rāṣṭriyas* (*Raṭṭhiyaputtā*) among his retinue 'was just between the *Mahāmātras* who were nicely dressed and the fittingly dressed Brahmins shouting the joy of victory'. The *Rāṣṭriyas* themselves 'are said to have been gorgeously dressed holding swords and the like in their hands (*vividhālaṅkarāmaṇḍitā nānāppakārā-āvudhahatthā*)'. In another context, he tells us that the king of the Kuru country came to see the Thera Raṭṭhapāla (Rāsṭrapāla) with a retinue consisting of the *Mahāmātras*, the *Mahārāṣṭrikas*, and such like persons of higher and higher ranks (*Mahāmattā-Mahāraṭṭhikādīnaṃ vasena uggatuggatam eva parisaṃ gahetvā upasaṅkami*).[1]

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[1] *E.I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 46.

[2] *Arthaśāstra*, V. 3.

[3] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

[4] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 236ff.

Squaring up the two, we may understand that *Rāṣṭriya* and *Rāṣṭrika* are one and the same designation. As for the connection of *Rāṣṭriya* or *Rāṣṭrika* with *Rāṣṭrapāla*, some light may be thrown from the Pali Raṭṭhapāla Sutta[2] and Buddhaghosa's comment thereon. From the Sutta itself, it is clear that Rāṣṭrapala was the only son of a *Śreshṭhī* of Sthūlakoṣṭhita, a fertile and prosperous place in the Kuru country of the Buddha's time. The Śreshṭhī who was a Vaiśya by caste lived in a right royal style.[3] According to Buddhaghosa, the Śreshṭhin's was a Rashtrapala family (Raṭṭhapāla-kula). By definition, a Rāṣṭrapāla family was that of which the head was capable of maintaining and restoring the peace and order in a territory or any portion thereof in the event of party factions, capable of coping with or quelling any popular commotion or disturbance:

> *Sarājikaṃ catuvaṇṇaṃ posetuṃ yaṃ pahossati,*
> *raṭṭhapālakulaṃ nāma.*[4]

In the prose portion of the *Culla-Sutasoma Jātaka* the Commander-in-Chief (*Senāpati*) is placed at the head of the *Amātyas* (Councillors and Officers), the Chaplain (*Purohita*) at the head of the Brāhmanas, and the *Raṣṭrika* (*Raṭṭhika*) is placed foremost among the *Naigamas*[5] (*Negamā*, i.e. the bankers, business magnates and rich land-owners who functioned at the same time as Mayors, Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace).

If such were the office and worldly position of a *Rāshṭriya* or *Rāshṭrika*, there is no wonder that Pushyagupta, a *Rāshṭriya* under Chandragupta Maurya, should be described as a Vaiśya in Rudradāman's inscription. But the question still is—was he appointed by Chandragupta to function as the Governor or Imperial High Commissioner of Surāshṭra?

From Rudradāman's inscription, it is evident no doubt, that the Yavana-rājā Tuṣāspha became an independent chieftain or ruler of Surāshṭra, may be of Surāshṭra-Ānarta, i.e. the whole of

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[1] Barua, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, ii, p. 264.

[2] *Majjhima*, ii, pp. 54ff; Malalasekera, *Dict. of Pali Proper Names*, ii, pp. 706ff.

[3] *Papañca-sūdanī*, Siamese Ed., iii, p. 269.

[4] *Jātaka*, v, p. 178: *Senāpati-pamukhāni asīti-amaccasahassāni Purohita-pamukhāni saṭṭhi-brāhmaṇa-sahassāni Raṭṭhika-negamādayo bahu pakkosāpetvā.*

[5] Cf. Jātaka, vi.

Kāṭhiāwār, sometime after Aśoka. The ancient name of Junāgaḍh itself indicates that the city with the hill-fort was built by a Yavana ruler. Rudradāman himself appointed a Pahlava (Parthian or Persian), named Suviśāla, son of Kulaipa, as *Amātya* (Governor), for the whole of Surāshṭra and Ānarta. Can we say that this was in keeping with the Maurya tradition, particularly Aśokan ?

The Yerraguḍi copy of M.R.E. goes to show that the Imperial Agent or Commissioner at the place was a *Rajjuka* to whom the message to be proclaimed was despatched from the capital with the direction that he should, in his turn, commend it to the people (*jānapadaṃ*) as well as the *Rāshṭrikas* (*Raṭhikāni cha*). If any inference is to be drawn from this, it is that in the *janapada* under this particular *Rajjuka* were the *Rāshṭrikas* besides the general populace.[1] Whether there were any *Mahāmātras* attached to this *Rajjuka* or not, this inscription has nothing to say. If the *Rajjuka* as Regent or Chief Commissioner virtually took the place of the *Kumāra* in the Home Provinces, he, too, must have a body of *Mahāmātras* to assist him in deliberation as well as administration. What was at the Yerraguḍi area, the same was *ex hypothesi* in Surāshṭra (Girnār) Sūnāparānta (Sopārā), Mahārāshṭra (Kopbal), and Mūshaka (Maski).

As Regent or Chief Commissioner for a particular *janapada* (large administrative area, a Home Province or Division), the *Rajjuka* was responsible to the king as the supreme administrative head of a particular imperial territory. He was to carry on the administration of the *janapada* placed in his charge with the aid of the *Mahāmatras* and the *Rāshṭrikas*. He was the official medium through which the king's orders, directions and instructions were to be communicated to the *Mahāmatras* entrusted with the administration of towns or of districts within his jurisdiction. The *Purushas* or Personal Secretaries of the king were the official agents to intimate to the *Rajjukas* the king's wishes, instructions and policy shaping the method of administration to be faithfully followed by them in order to please the king, to work to his satisfaction (P.E. IV).

The *janapada* under a *Rajjuka* was divided into a certain number of *aharas* (smaller administrative areas, say, districts defining the jurisdiction of different classes of *Mahāmātras*), with the *koṭa-vishayas* (fort-areas).

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[1] *Samāgatā jānapadā negamā cha samāgatā negama-jānapadā.*

A FEW LITERARY GLIMPSES OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE IN MEDIEVAL BENGAL

By TAPONATH CHAKRABARTY

Medieval Bengali literature is a veritable storehouse of every kind of information, social, religious, economic and cultural. Rich in variety and vast in quantity, the literature of the land often supplies valuable materials for the construction of its social and religious history especially of the age when Śrî Chaitanya was alive and of the period shortly before and after his death. The present paper aims to offer a few broad data of social and religious life in Nadia and adjoining regions which may be gleaned from such literature dealing with the period shortly before the birth of Śrî Chaitanya and the age prior to his initiation in the gospels of bhakti which marked a new epoch in the history of Vaishnavism in Bengal.

The combined testimony of Chaitanyabhâgavata, Chaitanyacharitâmṛta and Advaitaprakâśa, that is to say, the evidence furnished by the authors of the most authentic Chaitanya charitakâvyas, like Vṛndâbandâs, Kṛshnadâs Kavirâj and Îśân Nâgara, all of whom were nearly of the same age when Chaitanya lived and died, lends support to the view that Vaishnavism shortly before the birth of Śrî Chaitanya and during the early days of his life was not altogether unknown in Bengal, yet it was in a state of infancy, with only a few following and a large number of enemies around. It was through the advent of the Lord Gaurâṅga to the scene and the proselytizing zeal of his followers that Vaishnavism received a new impetus and the tidal wave of bhakti which eventually spread throughout the land had its humble beginning behind the closed doors of solitary apartments in Nabadwîpa, Śântipura and adjoining villages in Western Bengal. Starting from the birth-place of Śrî Chaitanya, that is, Nabadwîpa, which in the figurative words of the poet, 'was submerged by the tide, the wave spread to Śântipura which was on the point of being drowned' and thus to all regions lying far and near. The story of its development from an humble creed is no doubt interesting. The present paper, however, aims to show its modest beginning and the social background against which it had to fight and establish itself. The ignorance of the fundamental tenets of Vaishnavism, nay, of the essence of religion, on the part of learned professors and veteran teachers who were engaged in futile scholastic exposition of the sacred scriptures and dry metaphysical discussions, the indifference of the people at large and their preoccupation with thoughts of material pleasures and enjoyment, the observance of futile religious rites by the common folk, the hostile attitude of critics and opponents whose number ever increased, the aversion of Hindu metaphysical mind to group worship of collective mode of spiritual culture and the occasional, if not constant, persecution of the ruling class, namely of the Muslim Kâzis and local Muslim overlords,—these were, in short, the odds against which the infant creed had to struggle for its existence.

We can well illustrate the point by drawing materials from a few relevant passages of Chaitanyabhâgavata. Thus in one place Vṛndâbandâs gives in a nutshell the prevailing social outlook of the people during the period immediately preceding the birth of Nimâi and during the early days of his career in Nabadwîpa. All people are here described as being eager for material pleasures. They were keen for wealth, learning and male offspring and no serious quest for one's spiritual welfare could anywhere be found. Persons would laugh in derision at the sight of a Vaishṇava. People would make ridiculous caricatures and repeat comic themes at the instance of Vaishṇavas. The fate of a puritan in life or of a recluse was not considered to be a coveted one. Persons who had the good fortune to be led on horseback or in some kind of vehicle and had a large body of retainers with them, were alone considered to be worthy of respect in popular esteem. Men of letters, especially learned professors, were engaged in fruitless pedantic arguments or useless pedagogy without caring to imbibe or inculcate the essence of spiritual culture.[1] The ordinary religious practices and beliefs of the common people may be gleaned from the following account: As to religion, people cared for the performance of a few social rites. Thus men and women would pass sleepless nights in hearing the songs of minstrels singing the glories of the auspicious mother-goddess Chaṇḍî. With great eclat some would worship Bishahari (probably the snake-deity Manasâ) while others made costly images of such folk-deities. People would spend huge sums or a good lot of money on the occasion of their sons' or daughters' marriage. In such frivolous pursuits, with the observance of such futile shows of piety, people would rest content. The world anon, notes Vṛndâbandâs, thus whiled away its days. Even learned scholars, well versed in the sacred scriptures, formed no exception to the prevailing order of life. The boast of heraldry and the pomp of learning were all that they cared for. The teachers of scriptures

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[1] Cf. Chaitanyabhâgavata (published by Nritya Gopal Vidyāratna), I, 6, 32 to 33.

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like the Gîtâ and Śrimadbhâgavata, would not care to preach the gospel of bhakti that was running through them. None of them cared to sing the glories of Lord Kṛshṇa or inculcate that it was the only way by which people could be led to eternal bliss at this iron age. Even ascetics and recluses, with sour looks and disgust of worldly life, would not repeat the name of Hari. A few blessed people alone would care to utter the name of Gôvinda or Puṇḍarîkâksha at the time of their bath. Persons would not utter the name of Kṛshṇa even on request. The world was fond of conventional modes and practices. No one liked to worship Kṛshṇa or adore Vishṇu. With numerous offers, some would worship Bâsulî, while others indulged in ceremonious sacrifices or bacchanalian modes of worship by offering wine and meat. By organizing dances and musical performances, vocal and instrumental, persons would indulge in the prevalent practice of religion. Only the auspicious name of Kṛshṇa could nowhere be heard. A small group of Vishṇu worshippers, however, formed a notable exception to the general rule. These devoted bhâgavatas would silently mind their own business and formed a batch by themselves. Being ardent devotees of Kṛshṇa, they used to sing the glories of their Lord and take their daily ablution bath in the holy waters of the Ganges. The foremost among these Vaishṇavas of Nabadwîpa (in Nadia) at that time was a man called Adwaita Āchāryya. With the sacred waters of the Ganges and the budding twigs of the Tulasî plant he used to worship the image of his favourite Lord Kṛshṇa. The burden of his constant preaching was that devotion to Lord Kṛshṇa was the fundamental note of all scriptures. The sage Adwaita thus passed his days in Nabadwîpa. The heathen conduct of the people around gave him no rest. It pained his heart and drew forth his sighs. Among the solitary Vaishṇavas of Nabadwîpa at that age mention may be made of Śrîvâsa and his three brothers; Śrîchandraśekhara, Jagadîśa, Gôpînâtha, Śrî Garuḍa, Murâri, Gaṅgâdâsa and so on. Śrîvâsa and his three brothers would incessantly repeat and sing aloud the glories of Kṛshṇa. Thrice they would take their bath in the waters of the Ganges daily and perform Vishṇu worship. The sight of the people around pierced the heart of Adwaita, who would often observe fasts and offer prayers to the Almighty for bringing them round. At nightfall Śrîvâsa and his three brothers met in their household and kept singing within their doors the choric songs in praise of Hari. The non-believers had nothing but a smile of contempt for these devotees of Vishṇu and at the noise of such choric songs the heathen neighbours clamoured and raised murmurs of discontent. Some would remark that by this act Śrîvâsa and his brothers would bring hell upon the people as a whole as this would enrage the infidel and invoke the wrath of the powerful Yavana (i.e. Muslim) lord of Nadia. Others would opine that it was better in the interest of the village as a whole to drive this Brâhmin (i.e. Śrîvâsa) with his bag and baggage from his household and destroy his dwelling house, for otherwise they would have to face fierce persecution at the hands of the Yavana or Muslim ruler of the land.[1] Amidst their daily round of duties, men and women would often seek to amuse themselves by noticing epic and Puranic scenes enacted by mimic players or listening to such musical accounts from bards and minstrels. Songs in honour of the snake-deity Manasâ or the mother-goddess Chaṇḍî, as already stated, were largely in vogue at that time. The story of the Râmâyaṇa seems to have been especially appealing to popular imagination and it supplied themes for attractive theatrical shows or musical performances. Episodes from the life of the god Kṛshṇa during his stay in Vṛndâvana more specially seem also to have been enacted by musical parties in a popular way with music and dancing. This is evident from a perusal of a contemporary work entitled 'Śrîkṛshṇavijaya' by Mâlâdhara Basu (surnamed Guṇarâj Khân) which is known to have been written during the period 1473 to 1481 A.D. The Bengali version of the Râmâyaṇa of Vâlmîki as given by Kṛttivâsa, seems to have been specially designed to meet this popular demand and the universal popularity which the Râmâyaṇa story enjoyed among the common people of that age in Bengal may well be judged from the following account given in Chaitanyabhâgavata (I, 8). We are introduced here before an audience witnessing a theatrical performance of a well-known episode of the Râmâyaṇa. Thus a player in the rôle of Daśaratha is described as bidding good-bye to his life as the news of Râma's exile reached his ear. Kṛshṇa-yâtrâs or musical performances of the episodes of the life of the god Kṛshṇa like the Kâliyadamana feat, songs for the glorification of the god Śiva, or the goddess Durgâ or Lakshmî and somewhat later of the god Dharmmadeva or the goddess Shashṭhî, seem to have been very popular and widely prevalent among the people of that age.[2] The popular pantheon, thus seems to have included the goddesses Bâsulî, Chaṇḍî, Manasâ, Shashṭhî, Durgâ, Lakshmî, Sarasvatî, and the gods Śiva, Kshetrapâla, Dharmmadeva and so on. We find reference to the performance of such a Kṛshṇa-yâtrâ or a musical soiree for the display of some incident of the life of the god Kṛshṇa through the play of a sort of melodrama, at the house of Chandraśekhara Âchâryya,

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[1] Vide Chaitanyabhâgavata, I, II, 10 to 11.

[2] Vide Vâṅgâlâ Sâhityer Itihâsa by Sukumar Sen, pp. 199-200.

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the maternal uncle of Śrî Chaitanya.[1] Vṛndâbandâs similarly speaks of an occasion when in a rich man's house people witnessed the musical performance of the Kâliyadamana feat of the god Kṛshṇa. A person in the rôle of a snake under the influence of secret charms imitating the snake-charming feat of the god Kṛshṇa in the Kâliya lake is said to have kept the audience spell-bound by his mystic dances while the choir band went on singing and drums and cymbals were being played all round. The Kâliyadamana feat of the god Kṛshṇa formed the burden of their song.[2] Snake-charming may also be inferred to have been a favourite pastime of the people. Mention may similarly be found of popular musical parties for celebrating the glories of the god Śiva or his consort Durgâ. A minstrel is thus described as beating his small drum and singing the glories of the god Siva.[3] A person named Gadâdhara is said to have engaged the attention of people by his dances in the garb of Ramâ or the goddess Durgâ while the members of his party are said to have sung appropriate themes worthy of the occasion.[4]

Musical accounts of the glories of the celebrated Pâla kings of Bengal like Mahîpâla and others seem also to have been very popular at that time.[5] Men were thus eager to hear such bardic tales of by-gone days. Some of the Pâla kings like Râmapâla seem to have loomed large in popular imagination. There is a story in a work called 'Sêkśubhôdayâ' (p. 20-21) which can well account for such popularity. It is said that Râmapâla was so fond of justice that he impaled his only son to death as the latter committed a wrongful act against a woman. Whatever may be the truth of this tradition, there can be no doubt that some of the Pâla kings were able to earn the goodwill and esteem of the people. Thus Gopâla I, the founder of the Pâla dynasty in Bengal, is said to have been placed on the throne as the result of a popular election. It was the people who chose him as their king to put an end to the state of anarchy or mâtsyanyâya which prevailed in Bengal during this period as it appears from the account given by Târânâtha, which receives confirmation from the statement given in the fourth verse of the Khâlimpur copper-plate inscription of king Dharmapâla, son of Gopâla I. The extensive popularity enjoyed by king Dharmapâla, the most illustrious monarch of the Pâla line, may well be judged from the account given in verse 13 of the above inscription, which runs as follows: 'Gôpaiḥ sîmni vanecharai rvanabhuvi grâmopakanṭhe janaiḥ krîḍadbhiḥ pratichatvaraṁ śiśugaṇaiḥ pratyâpaṇaṁ mânapaiḥ lîlâ-veśmani pañjarôdaraśukai rudgîta mâtmastavaṁ yasyâkarṇayata strapâ-vivalitâ-namraṁ sadaivânanaṁ.'[1] In the outlying frontier regions the 'gopas', the forest-dwellers in the wild tracts, the villagers in the vicinity of rural areas, the playful children in family habitats, the traders in places of business and the parrots kept encaged in pleasure-houses, were all his admirers. Making due allowance for such panegyrical account of the poet, we can well understand that Dharmapâla's rule was broad based upon the goodwill and support of his people. In the Âmgâchhi copper-plate inscription of Vigrahapâla III, the epithet—'anurâgaikavasati'[2] as applied to Nayapâla, shows how dear he was to his people. In the same inscription[3] king Vigrahapâladeva is aptly described as—'Pîtaḥ sajjana-lôchaniaḥ' and 'châturvvarṇya-samâśrayaḥ sitayaśa[ḥ puñjai] rjjagadrañjayan Śrîmadvigrahapâladeva-nṛpati.'[4] This shows how deeply the king was loved by his subjects. By a careful comparison of the data furnished by the Manahali copper-plate inscription of Madanapâla and the Kamauli copper-plate inscription of Vaidyadeva, the reason of Râmapâla's popularity may well be explained. The story of the dethronement and defeat of Mahîpâla II, son of Vigrahapâla III, as the result of a popular rising under the leadership of a Kaivartta chieftain named Divya (or Divyôka) who along with his brother Rudôka and his nephew Bhîma became master of the country for a time, is too well-known to require any mention. It was king Râmapâla, who by dint of his own prowess, restored the fallen fortune of his family by recovering his fatherland (janakabhū, i.e. Varendrî or North Bengal) from the clutch of his enemy, Bhîma, who is described as 'Kshôṇî-nâyaka'. This glorious achievement must have made him famous and we find an echo of it in the panegyrical account given in the fourth verse of the Kamauli copper-plate inscription of Vaidyadeva, where it is likened to the heroic exploit of the epic hero Râma, who defeated and killed Râvaṇa. In the Râmacharita of Sandhyâkara Nandi we find a detailed description as to how Râmapâla, who was driven from his fatherland, made a long and silent preparation with great fortitude for the restoration of his lost paternal realm. No wonder then that this monarch, the Alfred of this land, should be praised in subsequent literature and be the hero of popular song.[5] As to Mahîpâla II, Mahâmahopâdhyâya H. P. Sastri writes in his introduction to 'Râmacharita'—

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[1] Chaitanyabhâgavata, II, 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 14.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, 8.

[4] *Op. cit.*, II, 18.

[5] *Ibid.*, III, 4.

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[1] Vide Gauḍa-Lekhamâlâ, p. 14 and Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p. 243ff.

[2] Cf. verse 12, line 17.

[3] Cf. verse 13, lines 17-18.

[4] Gauḍa-Lekhamâlâ, p. 125.

[5] Vide Vâṅgâlâ Sâhityer Itihâsa by Sukumar Sen, p. 201.

'Mahîpâla did not pay any heed to the cautious advice of his ministers, he hastily collected a large but ill-disciplined force, and advanced to meet the enemy. His force was routed. The soldiers fled in disorder, and he was defeated and slain.' In the text of the Râmacharita (I, 22) we have the expression—'lôkântara-praṇayiṇô' which the commentator explains as—'paralokagatasya'. The account of the death of Mahīpāla II in battle, is based on this interpretation of the above commentator. According to A. K. Maitreya there is a popular tradition in Varendra-maṇḍala that Mahîpâla forsook the world and became an ascetic and that is why Mahîpâla figured in popular song. There may be some such hint, though the meaning is not clear, in the word—'śivavadvabhûva'[1] of the Manahali copper-plate inscription of Madanapâla.[2] If, on the other hand, we assume that Mahîpâla of popular song is Mahîpâla I, we can justify such an assumption by mentioning his achievement, namely reconquest of the paternal realm from a Guaḍapati of the foreign Kâmboja race.[3] Hence we find an echo of it in the Bângarh copper-plate inscription of Mahîpâla I[4]—"[वाहु] दर्पादनधिकृतविलुप्तं राज्यमासाद्य पित्र्यं'[5] ('Vāhu)darpâdanadhikṛta-viluptaṁ râjyamâsâdya pitryâṁ.'[6] The expression—'anadhikṛta-viluptaṁ râjyaṁ' shows that Mahîpâla I had his kingdom back from persons who had no claim to it. This shows that the rule of the Pâla kings was temporarily suspended owing to the invasion of a foreign enemy who had no legal claim over the land. According to some scholars[7] the account given in the same inscription Cf. [Deśe prâchi] prachura-payasi svachchha mâpîya tôyaṁ svairaṁ bhrântvâ tadanumalayôpatyakâ-chandaneshu (I) kṛtvâ [sândraistarushu jaḍatâṭṁ) śîkarai rabhratulyâḥ prâleyâ(dre)ḥ kaṭaka mabhajan yasya senâ-gajendrâḥ[8]] offers an evidence of the digvijaya or territorial raid of Mahîpâla I. Mr. A. K. Maitreya, however, thinks that the above description merely indicates the Vicissitudes of the homeless monarch, namely Vigrahapâla II, father of Mahîpâla I, who moved hither and thither in quest of a shelter and at last found a safe retreat in the valley of the Himalayas.[9] If the above view be correct, we have every reason to suppose that like Akbar, son of Humâyun, Mahîpâla I, the son of a homeless truant, had some claim for popular consideration.

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[1] Cf. Śrîmân Mahîpâla iti dvitîyô dvijeśa-mauloḥ śivavadvabhūva, v. 13.

[2] See Gauḍa-Lekhamâlâ, p. 156.

[3] See R. P. Chanda in J.A.S.B. (N.S.), Vol. VII, pp. 615ff.

[4] Cf. verse 12.

[5] G. L., p. 95.

[6] Lines 23-24.

[7] See Gauḍêr Itihâsa, p. 121.

[8] Verse, 11, lines 21–23.

[9] Gauḍa-Lekhamâlâ, p. 100 f.n.

Many of the social customs among Hindus of that age in Bengal seem to be much the same as we find them today. Thus the ceremony of initiating a child in the art of reading and writing seems to have been a popular festival in a Hindu household at that time. This is evident from the account given in a contemporary work, for example Advaitaprakâśa, which is dated in the year 1490 of the Saka era, corresponding to A.D. 1568. Îśân Nâgara, the writer of this work, is said to have been five years of age when his mother brought him from his native village Lâuḍa in Śrîhaṭṭa or Sylhet to the residence of Advaita Âchâryya at Śântipura. The very day the mother and the son came to Advaita's household, a gala occasion presented itself in the shape of the ceremony of initiating the eldest son of the Âchâryya in the art of reading and writing. To grace this occasion, namely the work of presenting the alphabet to the boy, it was marked as a day of social festivity for the family. The ceremony of initiating a child in the art of writing and reading the letters of the alphabet is also referred to in Chaitanyabhâgavata (I, 5, 27) where the boy Nimâi is said to have been so initiated by his father, Jagannātha Miśra, who placed a writing chalk in the hand of his son and initiated him in the art of writing, after which came the chûḍâkaraṇa ceremony when friends and acquaintances pierced the child's ears with pins. The initiation with the sacred thread or the ceremony of upanayana in the case of a Brâhmin boy was a common custom in Hindu society.[1] The nâmakaraṇa ceremony or the ceremony of fixing the individual proper name of a child seems to have been a customary rite in Hindu household.[2] The pious observance of the eleventh lunar day in every month by Brâhmins especially seems to have been a common practice in Hindu society. Observance of fasts or some such means of self-discipline and the offering of prayers to the Almighty were common practices during these days.[3] During lunar or solar eclipse men and women would flock together to bathe in the Ganges and repeat sacred hymns or sing aloud the glories of God.[4] It is interesting to note some of the common taboos or petty details of Hindu social life in Bengal. Thus touching earthen wares or other pots rejected after being used in cooking was considered to be an act of impurity for which bathing was necessary.[5] The case of Tairthika Brâhmaṇa shows that ucchchisṭa food or taking food tasted already seems to have been forbidden. Women especially unmarried girls in Hindu society would perform various popular religious rites or vratas,[6] by offering flowers and fruits. After the birth of a child, a mother in a Hindu household of that age seems to have kept herself confined within the four walls of the labour-room for one month and on the completion of this period she would come out with her baby in arms and purify herself by taking a bath. A few other ladies would also accompany her on such occasion and she would be greeted with music and joy. The ceremony would conclude with the distribution of some quantity of fried rice, ripe plantains, betel-leafs, oil, vermilion powder, etc., among the attendant ladies by the mother of the child or some other female member of her family.[1] The birth of an offspring was considered to be an occasion of joy in a Hindu family. The new-born child would be greeted with music. Flutes and pipes would be blown and drums would be beaten to mark the auspicious occasion while womenfolk would pour in and shower grains of paddy and tufts of green grass on the head of the new-born, praying for its long lease of life.[2] The new-born infant would be saved from the clutch of evil spirits by uttering various hymns to Vishṇu, Devî (or Pârvatî), Nṛsiṁha, Aparâjitâ and so on. Some would utter incantations or spells to guard the lying-in-room or the labour-room from all kinds of malevolent influence. Magical charms or mystic spells would also be used to ward off evil influences or bad omens from all the ten quarters. Belief in witchcraft and exorcism was especially prevalent among womenfolk in Bengal. Secret spells were also used to guard children from the danger of snake-bite. To protect children from all these omens safety charms in the shape of magical threads or amulets were probably worn by children and womenfolk seem to be very keen after these things.[3] In many Hindu household of that age especially among Brâhmins a room was kept apart for the daily worship of the household deity. The phallic emblem of the god Śiva and the Śâlagrâma or the stone emblem of the god Nârâyaṇa, the Gôpâla or the Nṛsiṁha image of the god Vishṇu were often used as household deities.[4] Such deities were duly worshipped every day and venerated by the members of such families and things offered or dedicated to such worship especially the holy water with which such deities were bathed were considered to have a special charming or sanctifying effect.[5] The Brâhmins seem to have been the traditional custodians of religion and sacred lore and as such they seem to have occupied the highest position in the social hierarchy. They formed in a sense the intelligentsia of that age and all kinds of priestly functions or religious duties were performed by them. Going on pilgrimage and offering of oblations to dead ancestors in such holy places like Gayâ were thought to be especially meritorious from the religious standpoint. There were instances among Brâhmins leaving their hearth and home and leading a nomadic religious life wandering from one place of pilgrimage to another.[1] But all Brâhmins were not equally pious and there were instances at that age of Brâhmin youths leading a reckless life. Thus in Jayânanda's Chaitanya-maṅgala (see p. 56) it is stated that the two brothers, Jagâi and Mâdhâi, who were Brâhmin by caste, used to recite 'masnabi' (i.e. Muslim literary texts). It is evident, therefore, that within the fold of orthodox Hindu society of those days there were persons even of the highest class, namely the priestly class, who were addicted to many of the social malpractices like drinking and were fond of the use of foreign dress, foreign language and literature. Observance of the daily triennial worship (trisandhyâ) and the performance of intellectual and priestly duties like yajana, yâjana, adhyayana and adhyâpana, were the common pratices among orthodox Brâhmins of those days. But instances of Brâhmins who had nothing but merely the sacrificial thread on their neck as the hollow badge of their superiority were not unknown in Bengal at that time. Thus Vṛndâbandâs in his work (I, 12) speaks of such a Brâhmin living in Râḍha or Western Bengal who posed himself as a second Gôpâla incarnation of the god Vishṇu. The growing popularity of Śrî Chaitanya made him jealous and he tried to draw around himself men and women by this mystic pose. But in reality he was a scoundrel. Śrî Chaitanya had to face many such rivals. Thus Vṛndâbandâs in his work (vide *ante*) incidentally refers to many such scoundrels who had the audacity to pose themselves as 'Raghunâtha' with the ostensible object of material gain by receiving offers of free gifts from the people. In a work called 'Bhakti-ratnâkara' we find mention of such a 'Jayagopâla'. It is clear thus that the infant creed, namely Vaishnavism, had many enemies both within and without.

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[1] Gauḍa-Lekhamâlâ, I, 6, 38.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 4, 19.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 5, 28.

[4] Chaitanyabhâgavata, I, 2, 14.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 6, 38.

[6] *Op. cit.*, I, 5, 30.

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[1] Chaitanyabhâgavata, I, 4, 18.

[2] Vide *supra*, I, 3, 17.

[3] Chaitanyabhâgavata, I, 4, 18–20.

[4] Cf. the case of Śrîvâsa.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 4, 20.

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As to the external enemies, namely the Yavana rulers of the land, we have evidence to show that although there were stray cases of persecution by local Muslim overlords, or fanatical mullâhs and Kâzis hither and thither, the Government of those days was on the whole tolerant. Hindus and Muslims seemed to have lived as neighbours, each pursuing its own calling. Some of the Hindus were appointed to high offices by Muslim rulers.[2] The Hindus

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[1] Cf. the case of Tairthika Brâhmaṇa given in Chaitanyabhâgavata, I, 4, 22ff.

[2] Cf. the cases of Rūpa, Sanātana and so on.

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of those days were liberal enough to appoint sometimes Muslims under them. Thus in Chaitanyacharitâmṛta (II, 25), the most authoritative account of that age, we have the statement that Hushen Khân Saiyad, the Sultan of Gauḍa, was formerly employed as an official under Subuddhi Râya, the then Hindu lord of Gauḍa. Muslim tailors were employed in Hindu household and we find mention of such a tailor working in the house of Śrîvâsa.[1] There were instances among the Muslims too who attended and witnessed with their Hindu neighbours the musical play of the Râmâyaṇa.[2] The case of Yavana Haridâsa, who was a devout Vaishṇava and an ardent follower of Śrî Chaitanya shows that things were gradually tending towards a happy sense of union between the two rival communities. But instances of religious persecution by Muslims were not unknown. Thus in Jayânanda's Chaitanyamaṅgala we find mention of a village named Piralyâ situated near Nabadwîpa whose Muslim inhabitants are said to be in a daggers' drawn relation with their Hindu neighbours, for example Brâhmins. The report by the local Kâzi of the Fuliâ village and the fierce torture of Haridâsa at the order of the local Muslim overlord or mulukpati, as mentioned in Advaitaprakâśa (9), is an instance of such local communal ill-feeling.

The use of betels for chewing seems to have been known at that distant age in Bengal and aromatic ingredients (guyâ) were used for this purpose for adding flavour. The Durgâpûjâ or the annual worship of the goddess Durgâ seems to have been a favourite festival in almost every Hindu household. It was the fashion then as now-a-days to perform such worship amidst the loud musical notes of drums, cymbals and conch-shells, which were therefore kept for this purpose in most of the Hindu household.[3]

As to Hindu women of those days, we find them as faithful partners of their husbands, as their silent and affectionate helpers in the journey of life, endowed with the characteristic grace and modesty of their sex, gay in simple attire with the vermilion mark shining on their head; as busy housewives courteous to the family and its gods plying their usual cares; as dutiful daughters-in-law tied in their chain of duties and obligations; as affectionate mothers with the milk of their tenderness for their kiddies; as loving sisters and festive daughters training themselves up for their future rôle before marriage.

Such were in short the social setting in which Vaishnavism, as an infant creed, had to work for mastery. Its new mode of collective or congregational prayer with its noisy uproar, was something detested by sober people. Silent individual worship or communion with God was a thing known to Hindu metaphysics and the new cult of bhakti with the common practice of choric song in the form of prayer seemed to be an anarchy.[1]

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[1] Chaitanyabhâgavata, I, 17.

[2] Cf. *op. cit.*, II, 4 and III, 4.

[3] *Op. cit.*, II, 23.

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[1] Cf. Chaitanyabhâgavata, II, 2, 132.

THE ĀBHIRS, TRAIKŪṬAKS AND MAITRAKS

By TRIBHUVANDAS L. SHAH

These three races lived in India during the first few centuries after Christ.

Much has also been written and published about them. Yet the questions of their origin, end and places of rule are not quite decided. In historical treatises the names of these three races are found in the following order—Ābhirs, Traikūṭaks and Maitraks. We have adopted the same order here.

I ĀBHIRS

Origin and relation

The Ābhirs (Āhirs) are at present mostly found in the southern and western portions of Kāṭhiāwār. In old days the whole of Kāṭhiāwār was known by the name Saurāṣṭra, which thus is the old as well as the new name of the home of Ābhirs. Again, it is believed that the mediæval rulers of Saurāṣṭra—the Rā' kings of Junāgaḍh—were Ābhirs. At present they (Ābhirs) deal in cattle. So they did in olden times too. They are, and were, a strong people with big bony bodies and great powers of endurance. A section of the Ābhirs had settled in the region which is known as 'Govardhan-Samay' in rock edicts dating B.C. as well as in those dating A.D., where the holy places like Nāsik and Tryambak are situated and where there are the sources of the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvari.

When we consider the dates of Kṣaharāṭa Nahapāṇa (according to Prabandh-Cintāmaṇi, Parisiṣṭaparva and Paṭṭāvali they are B.C. 114 to 74; for details see Ancient India by the present writer, Vol. III) and of his son-in-law Ruṣavdāt Śak, we have to conclude that both these races—the Kṣaharāṭs and the Śaks—were under Mahākśatrap Bhūmak, the father of Nahapāṇa. Bhūmak was one of the three governors appointed by the Yona king Menanḍer, and the region entrusted to him was what now consists of Jodhpur State and Rajputānā. He ruled from B.C. 156 to 115, and his capital was Bhinnamāl. When Nahapāṇa succeeded him, he at once defeated the last Śuṅga king, Devbhūti by name, became king of Avantī, assumed the title 'king' and struck his own coins. Thus the Kṣaharāṭs and the Śaks spread to Avantī. Then Nahapāṇa sent an expeditionary force under the combined leadership of his minister Ayam and his son-in-law Ṛṣavadāt, and thus conquered the region around Nāsik which was a holy place ('The Coins of Andhra Dynasty' by Dr. Rapson, Nos. 31 to 37; Anc. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 30 *et seq.*). There he donated money and other things. Thus the Kṣaharāṭs and Śaks now spread up to 'Govardhan Samay', the region around Nāsik. In B.C. 74 Nahapāṇa died, leaving no son behind him. His kingdom was divided into three parts. Avantī and Gujarāt (Lāṭ in those times) were conquered by King Gāndharvasen of Gardabhila dynasty. Ruśavadāt, the son-in-law of Nahapāṇa, settled in Cutch and Saurāṣṭra; and the remaining portion which was in Southern India, was annexed by the Āndhra king Śātkarṇi No. 17 (see the table at the end). Thus the Ābhirs, who were in Rajputānā only, at the beginning of Nahapāṇa's rule, had, by the time of his death, spread themselves in Avantī, Govardhan Samay, Saurāṣṭra and Cutch.[1] The Ābhirs in the south were later on called Traikūṭaks because they made the region named Trikūṭ their home. For more details vide A.I., Vol. III, p. 288.

We have stated above that Kṣaharāṭ Nahapāṇa,[2] immediately after coming to the throne, had sent a large army towards south under the leadership of his minister Ayam and his son-in-law Ṛṣavadāt. They had inflicted a severe defeat on the Āndhra king. The Āndhra ruler considered it—as it was the custom in those times—a great disgrace on him to be defeated while defending a holy place like Nāsik. This is proved by the evidence given in the edict of Queen Balaśree, the mother of Gautamiputra Śātkarṇi (C.A.R. No. 7). Thus the Āndhras were always at daggers drawn with the Kṣaharāṭs and the Śaks. The Āndhras were eagerly waiting for an opportunity to avenge themselves. How that opportunity came to them in course of time, is explained below.

We have seen that King Gāndharvasen of Gardabhila dynasty had conquered Avantī after Nahapāṇa's death. Gāndharvasen once saw a beautiful Jaina nun, and being enchanted with her beauty, forcibly got her taken to his harem. The nun's brother, a Jaina monk named Kāliksūri (Kālkācārya), tried his best to dissuade the king from this sinful course. When he found that the king would not release his sister, he gave up his monkhood, and went out of Avantī after having taken a vow of revenge. He went as far as Sind and Baluchistān and from there he went to Persiā. In the N.W. of Persiā was a territory named Śakasthān, where there were chieftains numbering about a hundred. Kāliksūri settled there. (It is possible that Kāliksūri may have travelled

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[1] Thus began the settlement of the Ābhirs in Saurāṣṭra and Cutch.

[2] Nahapāṇa's coins clearly have the word 'Kṣahrāṭ'. It is astonishing, therefore, that the scholars call him a 'Śak'.

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through Saurāṣṭra from the shores of which he might have gone on board a ship bound for Persiā.) Śakasthān was also called Pāraskūl. Here Kāliksūri stayed for a year and established cordial relations with the chiefs. In those times it was a custom that when the Persian king required military aid, he sent word to the chiefs who were bound to join the ranks with their forces. Death was the penalty of disobedience. Once during Kāliksūri's stay, the chiefs received message to send expeditionary forces to join the Persian army. They had no desire to comply with the message. Kāliksūri then approached them and told them that they need not send the armies if they did not want to do so; and that they might, with their armies, accompany him to India where there was plenty of territory to conquer and rule over. The chiefs liked the proposal. Ships with provisions were made ready. They landed on the shores of Saurāṣṭra. As the rainy season had already set in, they stayed for a time there with the permission of Ṛṣavdāt Śak, the king of Saurāṣṭra. When the season was over, the new Śaks joined force with Ṛṣavdāt, the old Śak, and defeated Gāndharvasen of Avantī. All these details of the establishment of Śaka rule over Avantī are given in Vāyupurāṇ (Gargasaṁhitā) (Buddhiprakās, Vol. 76, pp. 88 to 102, article by the late Dewān Bahādur K. H. Dhruv). The Jaina sources also give a similar account (A.I., Vol. III, pp. 340–2). The Śaka rule lasted for seven (according to the Purāṇs) years only. According to Jaina sources it lasted for four years only. Five Śaka kings came to the throne one by one during that period (A.I., Vol. III, pp. 346–52). They brutally persecuted the people. At last Śakāri Vikramāditya, the son of Gāndharvasen, got help from Ariṣṭa-karṇa Śātkarṇi, the Āndhra king, defeated the Śaks, became king of Avantī and started an era known as the Vikrama-era (B.C. 57). Some time later both the Āndhra king and the Gardabhila king combined forces under the leadership of Gautamiputra Śātkarṇi and extirpated their common enemies, the Śaks. In memory of this event, Queen Balaśree, the mother of Gautamiputra Śātkarṇi, got an inscription carved at Nāsik (C.A.R. No. 7; A.I., Vol. IV, p. 280). Thus the Śaks and Ābhirs who had settled in Saurāṣṭra were destroyed; only those of them who had settled in Avantī and in Southern India, and who had established marital relations with local royal families, survived. They are called the Ābhirs by the Purāṇas.

Ariṣṭa-karṇa Gautamiputra, the 17th Āndhra king, was succeeded by Hāl Śālivāhan (A.I., Vol. IV, pp. 236-7). He appointed the Ābhir chiefs on high and responsible posts. Details of this are given in C.A.R. Nos. 17 and 43. Again, both the Śātkarṇis and Ābhirs had cultivated marital relationship with the Kadambas.

This conclusion is arrived at by Prof. Rao (Part II, pp. 76 to 83; A.I., Vol. IV, pp. 242–6) in his 'Jainism in Southern India', after a thorough scrutiny of Dr. Buhler's evidence. Thus the Ābhirs, Śaks, Kadambas and Śātkarṇis were thickly connected with one another in about first century B.C.

Their origin and their place of settlement

The first mention of the Ābhirs having been appointed as responsible chiefs is found in C.A.R. Nos. 17 and 43. In No. 17 it is stated (A.I., Vol. IV, p. 290) that during the time of the Western Mahākṣatrap Rūdrasiṁha I, the queen who was wife of Vāsiṣṭaputra Śātkarṇi, Āndhra king No. 29 and daughter of Rūdrabhūti, the Ābhir commander, had given something in charity.[1] (A.I., Vol. IV, pp. 291-2). In No. 43 it is stated that during the time of the Ābhir king Iśvarsen, the son of Maḍhari,[2] the Śaks who were intimately related to him made some donations (A.I., Vol. III, pp. 303-4). These two edicts show quite clearly that the Ābhirs, the western Kṣatraps and the Āndhra Śātkarṇis had ties of blood with one another. Some more details about the other two will help us to understand the position of the Ābhirs (see their dynastic lists at the end).

The founder of the western Kṣatrapi was Ghṣotik. His son Caṣṭhaṇ was a powerful king. Hence he is generally known as the founder. The dynastic list of these Kṣatraps is given at the end. It is reproduced from C.A.R.P. 153. The only change introduced is that the beginning of the dynasty is stated to be in A.D. 78, while I have stated it to be A.D. 103[3] because according to me the Śaka era began in that year (A.I., Vol. IV, p. 61). The dynastic list of the Āndhras is not wholly or clearly given anywhere.[4] I have given it in A.I., Vol. IV, pp. 233–8 and have reproduced a relevant portion from it here. A comparative study of these lists will throw a good light on the question in hand.

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[1] According to scholars, she was the daughter of Rudradāman. As the edict is damaged, other mistakes also have been committed. The real meaning is quite different.

[2] This family is known among the Śātkarṇi kings.

[3] For details vide A.I., Vol. III, pp. 55 to 63. It has also been explained there how several difficulties crop up if A.D. 78 is considered to be the beginning of the Śaka era. It has also been shown how, by fixing up A.D. 103 as the date of its beginning, all the difficulties disappear. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. 30, Oct., p. 112. Dr. R. N. Sāletor states that the date is A.D. 110–12.)

[4] Pargiter has discussed all possibilities in his 'The Dynastic Lists of the Kali Ages'. His absolute reliance on Purāṇs only has led to certain incompleteness.

We have stated above that Gautamiputra Śātkarṇi, the 17th Āndhra king, had exterminated the Śaks and the Ābhirs. The Āndhra kings and their friends, the Gardabhils, often visited Śatruñjay, which was a holy place for both of them and they performed religious rites there (Pariśiṣṭaparva, Prabandh-Cintāmaṇi, etc.). The kings were accompanied by large retinues and equally large number of pilgrims. These pilgrims often settled at the place of pilgrimage (see the edicts of Priyadarśin and of Khārvel). It was thus that the Ābhirs began to re-settle in Saurāṣṭra. In A.D. 142, Caṣṭhaṇ conquered Avantī from the Gardabhila king, assumed the title 'king' and established himself on the throne. Then he invaded Saurāṣṭra, the sacred land of pilgrimage,[1] and conquered it, and ended there the rule of Gautamiputra of Āndhra (No. 26) whose coins were found in Kāṭhiāwār. Then the Casṭhaṇas decided to conquer another centre of pilgrimage, 'Govardhan Samay', in the south. It is not certain whether Rudradāman or his successor conquered it. Of course an improper interpretation of the Sudarśan Lake Inscription has raised Rudradāman much more than he deserves (A.I., Vol. IV, pp. 75 *et seq.*). Be that as it may, it is certain that 'Govardhan Samay' was under the rule of Rudrasiṁh, the 5th Caṣṭhaṇa king, and that he had appointed the Ābhir chief Rudrabhūti as governor over it (C.A.R. No. 39). The Āndhras had receded further south. The Casṭhaṇa power began to decline during the rule of the 8th king. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Iśvardatta, the governor of Govardhan Samay, declared himself independent and founded a new dynasty. He ruled from A.D. 261 and further. As the Āndhras had receded as far as Vijaynagar, there was none to check the progress of Iśvardatta, up to that limit. Having conquered that much territory, he also, like the Caṣṭhaṇs, assumed the title 'Mahākṣatrap'; and struck his own coins,[2] which resemble the Caṣṭhaṇ coins[3] in all respects (A.I., Vol. III), and he founded an era, beginning from the time of the rule (A.D. 249) of his father Iśvarsen. Thus it can be said that the Ābhir-era began in A.D. 249.

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[1] Defence of religion weighed more with kings in those times than conquest of land.

[2] Rapson states that no coin is found bearing any date between 158 of the Caṣṭhaṇa era (when Dāmsen's rule ended) and 161 of the same era (when the rule of Yaśodāman Kṣatrap began). The reason for that is explained here.

By adding 78 to 158 to 161, we get A.D. 236 to 239. But by adding 103, we get 261 to 264. This explains the political condition in those times.

[3] C.A.R. 133: The coins typed (minutely imitated from those of Kshatraps), show that certain territories belonging formerly to w. Kshatraps had passed into the hands of the Trikuṭaks.

It was also called the Trikuṭa-era, because the Ābhira king had established independent power over Govardhan Samay, in which there was a mountain with three peaks (Tri-kuṭ). Rapson says: 'The era used by the Traikūṭaka kings in their inscriptions is identical with that, which has been more commonly known as the Kalchuri or Chedi era, since it was first recognized in the inscriptions of the Kalchuri kings of Chedi. For practical purposes this era may be regarded as beginning in the year A.D. 249' (Fleet, J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 564). My own conclusion is that the Trikuṭak and the Kalchuri are different eras, begun at different places by different kings, but their dates being the same, one is often confused with the other.

From what is stated above, it becomes clear that the Ābhirs were governors appointed by the Caṣṭhaṇs, to rule over southern provinces. The Purāṇs have called them Āndhrabhṛtyas,[1] i.e. 'servants of Andhras'. The name Ābhir originated from Āndhrabhṛtyas (servants of the Āndhras). The Matsya-Purāṇ states that seven Āndhra kings sprang from the original dynasty. This, of course, is not quite correct. True it is, that the Ābhirs were related to the Āndhras and that they were appointed governors by the latter. But in A.D. 249 they asserted their independence. Thence they were under the suzerainty of the Caṣṭhaṇs, who had conquered the Āndhras also. Thus the Ābhirs were the servants of Caṣṭhaṇs. The term 'Āndhrabhṛtyas' should be interpreted in the following manner in which the term 'Shung-bhṛtya' is interpreted. It is to be taken as the Karmadhāraya compound meaning 'An Āndhra who was under somebody else's power' (A.I., Vol. III, p. 29, f.n. 5).

Thus A.D. 249 is the date of the establishment of their independent power. As regards the place of their settlement, we may state that Nāsik is mentioned in the edicts of King Iśvarsen and of his son, Mahākṣatrap Iśvardatta. It remains to be decided whether Nāsik was the seat of their capital. In southern edicts five important centres are stated. They are: Nāsik, Kaṇheri, Paiṭhaṇ, Junner and Kalyāṇi. Paiṭhaṇ is out of question here because the Āndhras had receded southwards in A.D. 249 when the Ābhir dynasty was founded. Kalyāṇi, the capital of the Caulukya dynasty, was founded in the fifth century A.D. Kaṇheri is famous as a cave. Of the remaining two, Junner is eight miles from Nāsik. Now, had Nāsik been the capital, Ṛṣavdāt would not have sent Ayam to conquer Junner, after he had conquered Nāsik. Hence Junner must have been a more important centre than Nāsik. It

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[1] Hindu History, p. 644; A.I., Vol. III, p. 285, f.n. 13.

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must have been the capital of the Triraśmi region. In C.A.R., p. 158, para. 132, it is stated, 'Dr Bhagvanlal Indraji accepted the view, on the authority of the Raghuvaṁsha, that Traikuṭa was in Aparānta but he afterwards preferred to identify with Junner in the Poona district'. In Jaina sources it is stated that a Jaina monk named Vajrasūri (A.D. 22 to 58) arrived at Sopārā (now known as Nālāsopārā, near Bombay; there is an edict of Priyadarśin there). Knowing that his death was near, he entrusted the care of the Gaccha (the congregation) to his disciple Vajrasensūri, and then went to mount Rathāvarta, where he undertook a vow of fasting unto death, and died. Of course there is no mention of Tri-raśmi in this. We have, however, proved that the region around Nāsik and Junner was a Jaina holy place. Kṣaharāt Nahapāṇ and Gautamīputra Śātkarṇi fought battles there. This region is near Sopārā, and is full of hills.

Again, Vajrasūri was a Jaina preceptor direct in the line of Mahāvīr. During his lifetime he had got many old Jaina places repaired. All these factors lead us to identify Rathāvarta with Tri-raśmi. There is mention of a mountain named Rukṣāvarta (i.e. Rathāvarta) in the list of mountains that were in the kingdom of Vāsiṣṭhaputra Dakśināpatheśvar (C.A.R. No. 13). That is stated by his grandmother, Queen Balaśree, in her edict (A.I., Vol. IV, p. 286). These details lead us to the conclusion that Junner was the capital of the Trikuṭaka kings. Their rule began in A.D. 249. It remains to be found out when their rule ended. It can be said that their rule must have ended during the time of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta, or of Candragupta II. The first ruled from A.D. 330 to 375 (45 years), the second, from A.D. 375 to 413 (38 years). Samudragupta having been the more valiant of the two, it is probable that their rule was ended by him, and that he brought them under his subjection, in about A.D. 350. According to the Purāṇs, the Ābhira dynasty ended with the 7th king.

II TRAIKŪṬAKS

I have proved above that King Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty had conquered the territory of the Ābhirs, namely, Triraśmi or Trikūṭ. This conquest, however, did not mean the total annihilation of the race. The chiefs of the race were appointed governors over the same territory by the Gupta emperor. This state of affairs continued for a century and a half. When in A.D. 467 Samudragupta was succeeded by Kumārgupta, the Gupta empire began to decline in power, and in spite of the efforts of

Buddhagupta or Narsinhgupta to preserve it from ruin (A.D. 495)[1] the suzerainty of the Guptas ended in A.D. 510[2] during the regime of Bhānugupta or Vainya-Dvādaśāditya. The Guptas had to leave Avantī and to seek shelter under some of their more powerful kith and kin elsewhere. They made one more unsuccessful attempt to regain their lost power and territory and then the dynasty ended.

Samudragupta died in A.D. 467; Kumārgupta, however, came to the throne in A.D. 473. Anarchy and misrule had prevailed during the intervening six years; Vijaysen, the governor of Saurāṣṭra, founded his independent dynasty there, in A.D. 469. His rule lasted for 25 years (A.D. 494). He was succeeded by his son Dharsen, who ruled for five years up to A.D. 499. He was succeeded by his son Droṇsen who was declared an independent king and was conferred the title 'Mahārāj' by the Gupta king himself (probably Bhānugupta) in A.D. 505. While this state of affairs prevailed in Saurāṣṭra, Avantī itself was invaded by the Hun-hordes and their chief Tormāṇ, after carrying fire and sword everywhere, had established himself as the king over the territory and in the south in the Vindhya ranges, Dharsen, the son of Indradatta, the governor, had founded his own dynasty there in A.D. 526 (207 of Gupta-era) (C.A.R. No. 44, Pārdi).

In the edict No. 44 referred to above, Dharsen has called himself 'Traikūṭak'. No. 45 edict at Kanheri also makes the mention of a certain 'Vyāghrasen Traikūṭak'. The same edict contains the date G.E. 245 (A.D. 564). Scholars have come to the conclusion, on this basis, that Indradatta was succeeded by Dharsen, who in his turn was succeeded by Vyāghrasen. In the Pārdi edict Dharsen's date is stated to have been A.D. 526, and he calls himself 'the son of Mahārāj Indradatta, a great Vaiṣṇav and Mahārāj'. This indicates that Indradatta had freed himself from the Gupta yoke. Droṇsiṁh Maitrak of Vallabhipur assumed the title 'Mahārāj' in A.D. 505; it is probable that Indradatta also became independent during the same time. The rule of Droṇsiṁh lasted for 20 years. Indradatta also must have declared himself independent in A.D. 505. His rule probably lasted for 20 years; and Dharsen having succeeded him must have carved the edict at Pārdi in A.D. 526. The chronology of the Traikūṭaka dynasty may now be stated as under:

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[1] *Indian Culture,* 1939, p. 410 : 'Last date on the coins of Budhagupta' 176 G.S.; A.D. 495.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 410: 'It is therefore clear that in A.D. 502 Guptas claimed the suzerainty over India.'

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(1) Indradatta .. A.D. 505 to 525.
(2) Dharsen .. .. A.D. 525 to 555 (about).
(3) Vyāghrasen .. A.D. 555 to 565 (and further).

These kings have used the Gupta-era in their coins. This shows that they accepted the nominal suzerainty of the Guptas. Some scholars are of the opinion that the Trikūṭaka-era is identical with the Kalcuri-Cedi-era; and hence they take A.D. 249 as the year of the beginning of that dynasty. This, however, does not seem to be plausible and also does not agree with the dates of the Gupta kings. The following statement given in C.A.R.P. 160, f.n. 1, also does not sound very probable: 'It seems not improbable that the Traikūṭakas may be the Mauryas of the Northern Konkan—because no mention of these kings has yet been found in any Indian record.' Hence we conclude that the Ābhirs have used their own era which dates from A.D. 249. This proves that the Ābhirs and Traikūṭaks were different people. This is supported by the evidence of rock-edicts. In the *Mythic Society Journal*, Oct. 1939, p. 30, f.n. 5, it is stated in connection with the edict of the Kadamba king Mayurśarmā who got the Candravalli dam built in the south: 'This tank was constructed by Mayurśarmā of the Kadambs, who defeated Trikūṭs, Ābhirs, Pallavs, Pāriyātriks,[1] Śakasthānes, Sayindriks, Punāls and Mokaries.' This clearly shows that the Ābhirs and Traikūṭaks were separate races.

I shall now try to locate the territory where the Traikūṭaks ruled. Rapson states: 'It is possible that the Traikūṭaka kings may have been ruling in the region of Gujarāt from which their inscriptions and coins are found during their lifetime.' With reference to No. 45 edict found at Pārdi, a village in Surat district of Gujarāt, he says: 'The coins are discovered not only in S. Gujarāt and the Konkan but also in the Marātthā country on the other side of the ghāts.' Thus the kingdom of the Traikūṭaks ranged from at least Pārdi in the north to the ghāts in the south. The territory of the Ābhirs was smaller than that of the Traikūṭaks, because their coins are not found in Nāsik, while those of the Traikūṭaks are found. Rapson further states: 'The precise connection between these early Ābhirs and the later Traikūṭaks cannot be proved but it is certain that they ruled in the same region and there is no reason why they may not have belonged to the same dynasty.' 'It is impossible to determine, whether or not, the Ābhirs and Traikūṭaks belonged to the same dynasty or to the same race. All that can be said at present is that the two groups of kings may well have ruled over substantially the same territory and that the similar formation of their names which alike ended in Datta or Sena suggest the sort of relationship that may have existed between them.' The long and the short of it is that Rapson has not been able to decide whether they were different people or not. Had he given due attention to the coins of Traikūṭaks, to the titles assumed by them (Ancient India, Vol. III, p. 403, Nos. 103-104), and to the time indicated in their edicts, he would have ample material upon the strength of which he could have come to a decision. The Ābhirs have used their own era dating from A.D. 249 while the Traikūṭaks used the Gupta-era dating from A.D. 319. This use of separate eras is indicative of their respective political status, and of their having been different people. Both of them must have originally been followers of Jainism, because they have the same religious symbols, namely, the Sun, the Moon, and the Caitya. The Traikūṭaks have, however, called themselves 'Param Vaiṣṇavas'. This means that they must have converted themselves from Jainism to Vaiṣṇavism, just as the Guptas had done.

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[1] Were the Pāriyātrikas then residents of Southern India? Are Pāriyātriks of Mt. Aravalli these Pāriyātriks?

In the light of the points discussed above, we come to the following conclusions. The Ābhirs and the Traikūṭaks were different peoples but they ruled over the same region, namely, Trirasmi. Again, they were originally followers of the same religions but later on they changed their religion from Jainism to Vaiṣṇavism, on account of the Jaina Caṣṭhans having been succeeded by the Vaiṣṇava Guptās. The Ābhirs began their own era, while the Traikūṭaks continued to use the Gupta-era.

III THE MAITRAKS

We shall first try to find out the time of their origin. Two learned articles on the Maitraks, by Shri Jagannāth and by Shri Dhirendranāth Mukherji, have been written in *The Indian Culture*, 1939. In *The Forbes Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 3, p. 369, a digest of the articles has been given. In it, five different theories are stated about their time and origin: (1) Dr. Bhagvānlal Indraji suggested that Maitrak was the Sanskritized form of the word Mer, or Mehtar, the original name of the tribe; (2) Dr. J. F. Fleet expressed 'The Mihiras were a branch of Huns, who under the leadership of Torman and Mihirkul overthrew the power of the early Guptas' (I.A., 1866, p. 361); (3) D. R. Bhandarkar expressed that the Maitraks were like the Gurjars, a tribe allied with the Huns and entered India with them (J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 183); (4) Prof. Monier Williams' Dictionary defines the word as 'a person who worships in a Buddhist temple'; and (5) The writer of the article states that

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Maitraks may be equated with Maitreyak, meaning a particular caste, whose business it was to praise great men (*Indian Culture*, 1939, April, p. 409).

In theories Nos. 2 and 3 above, it is stated that the Maitraks entered India with the Huns to whom they were related. Now this theory does not bear the scrutiny of facts. In the first place, Tormāṇ was the first Hun chief who came to India and established his rule by exterminating the Guptās. The Maitraks, on the other hand, enjoyed responsible and high military posts during the Gupta rule. Their chief was appointed Bhaṭṭārka, Commander-in-Chief, by the Guptās. Taking into consideration the fact that the tenure of the office of a Bhaṭṭārka was 25 years, it is quite reasonable to conclude that the Maitraks came into power as early as A.D. 469, while Tormāṇ established his rule in A.D. 509. According to the theory No. 4 above, the Maitraks must have been Buddhists. That also is not possible. Their copper-plates, coins and edicts show no traces of Buddhism. On the contrary, the signs on the coins—the Bull and others, and the titles used by them—Param-Maheśvar on their copper-plates, point to the fact that like the Guptās, they must have been followers of the Vedic religion. According to theory No. 1 the Maitraks were connected with Maher or Mihir. The term 'Mihir' means the sun; but as the writer of the article states: 'Out of 21 kings of the dynasty, not one was the devotee of the God sun,—19 are described as worshippers of Śiva; only one Dhardatta, the 5th in the line, is styled as a worshipper of the sun.' Of course there is a race named Mehers in Saurāṣṭra. The members of the race are mostly farmers. These Mehers, however, do not seem to have a very ancient origin, though they may not be wholly ruled out, so long as a definite theory has not been established. Now we turn to theory No. 5. The writer of the article, who has advocated this theory, seems to be working under the belief that the Maitraks were bards of the Guptas. He also states: 'Looking to the similarity of their copper-plates, the Maitraks may very probably have been under the vassalage of the Traikūṭaks.' The argument, however, on which he bases this theory, points more to the conclusion that both of them must have flourished at the same time, under a common paramount power. Other evidence also points to the same conclusion.

We have seen that all the five theories are ill founded. Let us now try to come to some conclusions about them in the light of available facts. It has now been proved on the strength of rock-edicts that the Maitraks have used the Gupta-era, which dates from A.D. 319. S. K. Dikśit, in his article in *Indian Culture*, 1939, pp. 425–29, has made an attempt to prove that the Gupta-era is but another name of the Vikrama-era, which was begun in B.C. 57. Let us see how far this contention of Dikśit is true. He argues on the following lines: 'According to the rock-edicts of Kaniṣka his time must be somewhere between the 3rd and the 23rd year of the Vikrama Era.[1] The fourth Buddhist conference[2] was convened five hundred years after the Nirvāṇ of Buddha, during the rule of Kaniṣka.' As Buddha attained Nirvāṇ in B.C. 546,[3] Kaniṣka's time comes to B.C. 45. This is not the place to show the discrepancies in the statements above. But we may well ask in what way are the Guptās to be connected with Kaniṣka. Kaniṣka dynasty ruled for 150 years after him and the Guptās came to power only after that. This comes to A.D. 75 to 100 as the time of the establishment of the Gupta dynasty, and A.D. 75 to 100 means V.E. 150. Now how does this stand with the writer's contention that the Gupta rule began in V.E. 1 and that the Gupta-era is identical with the Vikrama-era? This contention of Dikśit is ably refuted by K. L. Baruā, the editor of *The Assam Research Society Journal*, in his article, Oct. 1939, Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 88, in which he has referred to a rock-edict at Nidhanpur of Bhāskervardhan who was a contemporary of the famous Harśa of Kanoj (whose date is irrefutably proved to have been A.D. 630 to 635) and who has given the names of his 'predecessors': following Mr. Mukerji we take the Gupta-era to begin from B.C. 58. Then Harjjara-Varman must have been ruling in A.D. 452 or about 150 years before Bhāsker-Varman. From the Nidhanpur Inscription of Bhāsker-Varman, we gave the names of his eleven ancestors, immediately preceding him, but these do not include the name of Harjjar-Varman. In A.D. 452 the ruling chief according to this genealogy must have been either Kalyān-Varman or Ganapati-Varman. There can be no doubt as to the date of Bhāsker-Varman, who is a contemporary of Harśa-Vardhan and the Chinese pilgrim Yuān-Chwāng, who must have therefore ruled during the first half of the second century. On p. 91, he concludes: 'It is not necessary to discuss other debatable points raised in this article, which are not quite germane to the main controversy at issue.' This refutation by Baruā can be supported by other pieces of evidence. If we accept that the Gupta-era was begun in B.C. 57 Kumār-Gupta's dates will come to 94 to 136, and Skanda-Gupta's from 136 to 148.[1] It is proved that the kings of Avantī were independent during this time. It is proved, on the strength of their own rock-edicts, the dates of Caṣṭhan and Rudradāman come to 52 and 72 of their own era, which mean A.D. 130 and 150, and 187 and 207 V.E. Now these Kṣatraps ruled over Avantī. Was then Avantī ruled by two independent dynasties at the same time?

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[1] The number is all right. But no mention is made of the Vikrama-era. The writer himself seems to have appended it. Again, Kaniṣka was a foreigner, and there is no reason why he should have used the Vikrama-era. (Details about the era of Kaniṣka are given in Anc. Ind., Vol. IV.)

[2] Later Buddhist books might contain some mention of this. Old Buddhist books contain no reference to it.

[3] Buddha attained Nirvāṇ in B.C. 543 (Anc. Ind., Vol. II, Chap. I). B.C. 546 is not a very correct date.

Coming back to the question of their time, the writer states: 'Bhaṭṭārk, the Commander-in-Chief, began his rule in 150th year of the Vallabhai-era (i.e. G.E. 150, A.D. 469) and Maitraka Droṇasiṁh assumed the title Mahārāj in the 18th year of the Vallabhai-era (A.D. 503).'[2] But he cannot decide whether the dynasty can be said to have begun in A.D. 469, when the Maitraka-chief was only a Commander-in-Chief, or in 503 when Droṇsiṁh began to style himself 'Mahārāj'. In this connection he states, 'He had not become independent. It may, however, be objected that the title Senāpati has been used even for the Śuṅga emperor Puṣyamitra. But in that case it was simply reminiscent of his original position and was not used by his successors.' We have, however, to differ from him on the following grounds. Iśvarsen was the first great man of the Ābhirs, and yet the era was begun by his son Iśvardatta. Bhūmak was the first great Kṣaharāṭ, and yet the era was begun by his son Nahapāṇ (Ancient India, Vol. III). The Kuṣāna-era was begun by Kaniṣka, though Kaḍaphasis was his predecessor (Ancient India, Vol. IV). Caṣṭhaṇ began the era. Śrigupta was the first great Gupta, and yet the era was begun by a successor of his. Many more instances of the kind can be given. Similarly, though Puṣyamitra paved the way for the foundation of the Śuṅga dynasty, yet it was Agnimitra who was called emperor, and though Bhaṭṭārk originated the Maitraka rule, it was founded on a firm basis by Droṇsiṁh, the third king in the line. Thus the rule of the dynasty began in A.D. 469. Rapson says: 'Some successor in a dynastic line, who distinguished himself by his valour, begins an era in his name, but dates it from the rule of the original founder of the dynasty, out of regard for him.'

We shall now try to locate their territory. It is now known that the Maitraks had established their power in Saurāṣṭra with

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[1] *Indian Culture,* April 1939, by Jagan-Nath, M.A., p. 411: Inscr. of Skandagupta. It is clear that Saurāṣṭra was in possession of the Guptas up to the Gupta year 138. (He was an independent emperor at that time.)

[2] *Indian Culture,* 1939, p. 410: Maitraka kings have continued to use the Gupta-era in dating their records without any break.

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Girinagar (modern Junāgaḍh) as its capital. We have now to find out whether the Maitraks settled permanently in Saurāṣṭra or changed their seat of capital. In this connection it should be stated that the Maitraks are also called Vallabhi kings, and that their era is also called the Vallabhai-era. This leads us to conclude that Vallabhipur (modern Vaḷā) was also the seat of their capital for some time. There was a reason for this change of capital. Girinagar was in the vicinity of the lake Sudarśan at the foot of Mt. Raivatak-Ujjayanta or Girnār. A heavy rainfall overflooded its banks and the city was thus in constant danger of floods. In *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, it is stated that during the interval between Candra-Gupta Maurya and Samudragupta Gupta, the city was several times in floods, playing great havoc with the life and property of the people. It is therefore probable that the Maitraks changed their seat of capital. Śrī Jagannāth states, 'The whole city (Girinagar) was in danger of being washed away. For many days and nights, the citizens of Girinagar had no peace of mind. . . The new capital was located at Vallabhi—which means a raised or lofty place. That the name of Vallabhi is quite modern is shown by the absence of any reference to it in very early Buddhist or Hindu works.' From Jaina sources we come to know that Girnār and Śatruñjay, both of which are Jaina places of pilgrimage, were originally summits of the same mountain. The foot of the Śatruñjay was near Vallabhipur in about the first century B.C. Thus the change of capital from Girinagar to Vallabhipur was in no way inconvenient to the Jains. This shows the far-sighted policy of the Vallabhi kings, because quite a large majority of Saurāṣṭriyans were Jains.[1]

We are now hazarding a conjecture. Girnār is also known by the name Raivat. (It is the name most used in Jaina literature.) The Gupta governors, who established an independent kingdom in the south, called themselves Traikūṭaks because of the sacred Jaina mountain, namely, Trikūṭ in their territory. Similarly these chiefs in Saurāṣṭra might have called themselves Raivataks, which became Maitraks (or Maivataks) due to mis-reading of the edicts. Such mis-readings are by no means uncommon.

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[1] Both Buddhist and Jaina books contain accounts of religious debates that took place between the Jaina and the Buddhist preceptors at the courts of Vallabhi kings. Durlabhdevī, the sister of Śilāditya—there were seven kings of this name in the line—was married to a king of the Daddak Gūrjar dynasty. Her son, the famous Jaina monk Mallavādi-sūri, defeated the Buddhist monks in such open debates. The point is that the Vallabhi kings always took into consideration the religious feelings of their subjects. Hence, they may have changed the seat of their capital to Vallabhipur.

The relation between the Maitraks and Traikūṭaks

Nothing more is known about the relations between them except that both originally were Gupta governors. Mr. D. D. Sampat has recently contributed an article to *Bhārtiya Vidyā*—a quarterly. We give below a relevant quotation from him: 'The Purāṇs take note of the fall of Kuṣans, and state that their successors were called Vindhyaks, whose rule began in A.D. 248. The Vāk must have been Brāhmins because they have performed Aśvamedh sacrifices. Their dynastic name was Traikūṭak.[1] The history of the Vākāṭaks plays an important part in our understanding of the rise and fall of the Gupta dynasty. Candragupta II had given his daughter Prabhāvatī in marriage to Vākāṭak Rudrasen II. Pravarpur in C.P. was their capital. One of these kings (Puṣyamitra) had formed an alliance with the Ābhirs and had invaded Kumārgupta. Vindhya-śakti, as the Commander of Bhārśivs, conquered all the new kingdoms that had come into existence after the fall of Śātvāhans.'

The extract quoted above shows that the rule of the Kuṣans ended in A.D. 248. The capital of Vākāṭaks was in C.P. which in old times was called Cedi. It is a well-established fact that the kings who adopted the Cedi or the Kalcuri-era mostly flourished in C.P. It is also true that the Cedi-era began in A.D. 249, when the Vākāṭak dynasty was founded. We have also proved elsewhere that the Ābhirs severed their relations with Caṣṭhaṇs and became independent in A.D. 249. We have also proved that Caṣṭhaṇs, who belonged to the same race as Kuṣāns were originally governors of the Kuṣāns (A.I., Vol. IV). Thus the Cedi or Kalcuri-era in the Northern and Central India, and the Ābhir-era in South India, began in the same year. The Vākāṭaks, however, were Brāhmins, while the Ābhirs were Jains. We do not agree with Sampat's statement, that the dynastic name of the Vākāṭaks was Traikūṭak. The successors of Vindhya-śakti have nowhere called themselves Traikūṭaks or by any other name except Vākāṭaks. The Ābhirs, on the other hand, have called themselves Traikūṭaks. All these facts prove that there existed no relations between the Maitraks and the Traikūṭaks.

Vākāṭak Vindhya ruled for 36 years from A.D. 218 to 284. Then his son Pravarsen I (in whose honour the capital was named Pravarpur) ruled for 60 years. Thus, these two kings ruled for, in all, 96 years (*Bhārtiya Vidyā*, Vol. II, p. 196). Pravarsen was succeeded by a line of weak kings, while other sons of Pravarsen

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[1] We differ from this.

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were under the vassalage of the successors to the throne. Candragupta II (A.D. 375 to 413) gave his daughter Prabhāvatī in marriage to Rudrasen II of this dynasty (A.D. 375 to 395). Again Candragupta, now related to the Vākāṭaks, had taken over the control of the kingdom in his own hands, during the minority of the Vākāṭaks. He had also married Kuverādevī,[1] the daughter of the neighbouring king Nāg of Basir. Thus, Candragupta had firmly established the Gupta influence everywhere. Puṣyamitra, a vassal of the Vākāṭaks, had risen after forming an alliance with the Ābhirs.[2] He invaded the Gupta kingdom when Kumārgupta was on the throne. It is not clear whether this Gupta king was Kumārgupta I or II. The first, however, ruled from A.D. 413 to 455 and the rule of the second began from A.D. 473-74. This proves that the Ābhirs not only ruled up to at least 413 A.D., but that they were powerful enough to fight against the Guptas. It is, therefore, more reasonable to conclude that the Ābhira rule ended in A.D. 420 instead of in A.D. 350. Thus the seven kings of the dynasty ruled for 170 years from A.D. 249 to 420.

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[1] *Bhārtiya Vidyā,* Vol. II, p. 156: Kuverādevī has been called Mahādevī. The original name of the daughter of Candragupta was Dhruvadevī. We don't know whether her name was later on changed to Kuverādevī.

[2] This proves that the Ābhirs were in power up to A.D. 413.

MISCELLANEA

DHARMĀDITYA OF THE FARIDPUR PLATES

Dr. Hoernle at first thought that Dharmāditya of the undated Faridpur plate is only a title of Samudragupta (*I.A.*, XXI, pp. 44-45). But later he gave up this view and he (as mentioned by Pargiter) and F. E. Pargiter thought (Pargiter, 'Three Copperplate Grants from East Bengal', *I.A.*, XXXIX, pp. 193ff) that Dharmāditya is a title of Yaśōdharman and that Gōpacandra of the third Faridpur plate, dated the year 19, is a different ruler. However, it seems to us that Dharmāditya is a title, not of Samudragupta nor of Yaśodharman, but of Gōpacandra himself. This will be clear if we examine the first three or four lines in the three Faridpur plates. The phraseology in the beginning of the two plates of Dharmāditya and that of Gōpacandra is strikingly identical. The same epithets are applied to Dharmāditya and Gōpacandra. For example, Dharmāditya is said to be equal with Yayāti and Ambarīṣa in steadfastness in the first line of his plate dated the year 3 (ययात्यम्बरीषसमधृतौ) (*I.A.*, XXXIX, p. 195). In the first line of Gōpacandra's plate also, the same epithet is applied to him and thus he is also said to be equal with Yayāti and Ambarīṣa in steadfastness (*ibid.*, p. 204). Why should the same epithets be applied to Dharmāditya and Gōpacandra in the same order and context unless it be that Dharmāditya and Gōpacandra are one and the same person and that Dharmāditya is only a title of the latter?

Besides the striking identity in phraseology and epithets, there are several other features common to the plates of Dharmāditya and Gōpacandra. Paleographically they belong to one and the same time indicating that they were issued in the time of one and the same ruler. They come from the same tract, namely, Vārakamaṇḍala, perhaps connected with modern Barind, 'a tract of high ground of stiff red clay lying east and west across the middle of North Bengal' (*ibid.*, p. 209).

There are also other reasons for taking Dharmāditya as a title of Gōpacandra and not of Yaśodharman. If it is a title of Yaśodharman, why is it not applied to him in his Mandaśōr inscription? There are some difficulties if we do not take Dharmāditya and Gōpacandra as identical. According to Pargiter, who took them as different rulers, the interval between the plate of Dharmāditya, dated the year 3, and that of Gōpacandra, dated the year 19, is 55 years (*ibid.*, p. 200). However, according to the translation of Pargiter himself, which we accept here for the sake of argument, Śivacandra is said to be the person in all the three Faridpur plates who separated the lands to be granted (शिवचन्द्रहस्त-अष्टकनवकनकेनापविञ्छ्य). It is doubtful whether the same person who served in separating lands at the time of plate 1 continued to be *in service* for 55 years *more* at the time of plate 3. So the interval of 55 years between the two plates, which is the result of taking Dharmāditya and Gōpacandra as different rulers issuing them, is not likely to be possible for the reason stated just above. However, if we take Gōpacandra as identical with Dharmāditya, the interval is only 16 years, the date of Faridpur plate 1, issued by Dharmāditya, being the year 3 and that of plate 3, issued by Gōpacandra, being 19. No era is mentioned for these years. Probably they are regnal years. If the interval is 16 years, which is the result of taking Dharmāditya and Gōpacandra as identical, it is quite possible that Śivacandra continued to serve for 16 years more after the issue of plate 1.

LAKSHMINARAYANA.

THE HINDU BHAKTI-GOD AS PRAJĀPATI

The harmonious ideal of Hindu life seems to have been evolved out of a dialectical process in the history of Aryan culture in India. The early Vedic ideal was the culture of trivarga; the Upaniṣadic-*cum*-Buddhistic ideal was the culture of mokṣa; it is the harmonious Hindu ideal which fulfils life (worldly life) but does not forfeit life hereafter. So the question is: when was the harmonious ideal of life evolved and upheld by the Hindus? Obviously it could not have been evolved in the early Vedic period or in the Upaniṣadic-*cum*-Buddhistic age, for the early Vedic ideal discountenanced Mukti and the Upaniṣadic-*cum*-Buddhistic ideal undervalued worldly life in the Ṛgveda-Bhāṣya-bhūmikā (Peterson's Edn., p. 54). Sāyaṇa rightly observes: Vede/pūrvottarakāṇḍayo krameṇa dharmabrahmaṇi viṣayah; it was evolved only when popular Bhakti-gods (Śiva, Viṣṇu) were accepted by the Hindus. All the major Hindu gods are like the Roman god Janus, two-headed; they are indeed true to the kindred points of heaven and home. It is their acceptance by Hinduism which has made the Hindu ideal of life such a harmonious and balanced scheme of life.

In order to establish this thesis of mine, I have advanced three hypotheses:—

(*a*) I have looked upon Buddhism as the typical ascetic cult of India.

(*b*) I have interpreted Nirvāṇa as Wishless Prajāpati.
(*c*) I have equated the Bhakti-god with Prajāpati.

The early Vedic creative theory states that Prajāpati creates per desire and creation is good, noble and enjoyable. Primitive Buddhism or Paṭicca-Samuppāda accepts the desire-theory of creation but comes to the conclusion that creation is sorrow, misery and suffering. Now if Prajāpatism proclaims the goodness and soundness of creation and thus stands for an optimistic outlook on life, Buddhism or Paṭicca-Samuppāda points out the inherent suffering of creation and stands emphatically for a pessimistic outlook on life (worldly life) and as such Buddhism may be looked upon as the typical ascetic cult of India. The Upaniṣadic culture is also an ascetic culture but it is not difficult to come across passages in the Upaniṣads that go to support the cult of Yajña and worldly life. Primitive Buddhism gives no such encouragement to worldly life and its religion (Yajña). The Upaniṣads may be compared to 'standing water'; the flow-tide of Prajāpatism is coming to an end and the ebb-tide of Nirvāṇism is just beginning, but in Buddhism the ebb-tide of Nirvāṇism has most definitely set in to the complete repudiation of the scheme of life upheld and practised by Prajāpatism. The claim of Buddhism to be regarded as the typical ascetic cult of India is clearly substantiated here.

(*b*) So long it has been the practice, in philosophical circles, to contrast Nirvāṇa with Ātman, Puruṣa, etc.; the strongest possible contrast to Nirvāṇa, however, is found in the conception of Prajāpati. Between Vedāntism, etc. and Buddhism the opposition is simply theoretical but not practical, for both Vedāntism, etc. and Buddhism follow in practical life an identical path—the path of moral consecration and endeavour that leads to Mukti or Nirvāṇa, Sarvasya saṃsārasya dukhātma-katvam sarvatīrthakarasammatam . . . ., as the Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha, p. 12, Cal. Edn., mentions it. The ideal difference may be stated as follows: Vedantism, etc. posit an eternal background (Brahman, Puruṣa) which ontological position Buddhism is loath to accept. Between Prajāpatism and Nirvāṇism the opposition is not only theoretical (Prajāpatism believes in Prajāpati, a personal creator, creating per desire whereas Buddhism proves that a person, completely real by himself, is a myth) but practical also; for Prajāpatism follows the path of Yajña or desire and Nirvāṇism follows the path of Vinaya or non-desire, i.e. Prajāpatism upholds trivarga and Buddhism most uncompromisingly upholds Nirvāṇa as the highest good of life. Remembering this opposition (both theoretical and practical) I have equated Nirvāṇa with Wishless Prajāpati.

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(*c*) All the popular gods of Hinduism (Śiva, Viṣṇu) have been equated with Ātman. That is, Vedāntism (whether of Śaṇkara-type or of Rāmānuja-type) is the official philosophy of Hindu India. The theory of Ātman proves that creation is Māyā and as such it declares that an escape from the bondage of Māyā is the highest bliss of life. It goes without saying then that the Ultimate, viewed as Ātman, means that creation is either sorrow and suffering or is a thing of secondary importance (Avidyā, aparāvidyā). Now a sane man who really accepts the theory of Ātman cannot be attached to a zestful scheme of life. Indeed, he will sit down to the feast of life but with defeated joy, thinking that his main business is not with worldly life but with its conquest and negation. Ātmanism and a zestful scheme of life seem therefore to be *eo ipso* incompatible with each other. How to explain then the fact that Hinduism has accepted 'Caturvarga' and not merely the fourth 'Varga' as its mission of life? The difficulty is solved if the 'Prajāpatihood' of the Hindu Bhakti-god is stressed and brought to the forefront. In other words, to give a historical answer to the question why Hinduism upholds the 'Caturvarga' scheme of life, the Hindu Bhakti-god is to be equated with Prajāpati, not merely with Ātman. So it is that I have equated (in my thesis: The Culture of Harmony) Śiva, for example, with Prajāpati being guided by the incontestable logic of history. This equation of Śiva, the Hindu Bhakti-god, with Prajāpati not only distinguishes Hindu Bhaktivāda from Buddhistic Bhaktivāda most emphatically but it saves Hinduism from a great disaster: the acceptance of an exclusive moral culture as the ideal of life. All the major gods of Hinduism, as we have just now observed, have been equated with Ātman; the Hindu gods, as gods of grace, are salvation-bestowing gods just like the gods of Buddhism who, apart from the bestowal of Nirvāṇa, have no *locus standi* or *modus operandi*. Now in their Ātman-*cum*-Salvation-bestowing aspect, the Hindu gods are really other-worldly gods; God as Ātman or Nirvāṇa means that the world is an illusion and the duties and rights of life (worldly life) are, after all, things of secondary importance. But with God, as Prajāpati, all this is radically changed—life becomes real and earnest, the world becomes a substantial place and the duties and rights of life acquire a new and a noble meaning. Hence it is that we have equated the Hindu Bhakti-god with Prajāpati in order that Saṁsāric life may be accepted as something instinct with inherent nobility and grace.

PHANI BHUSAN ROY.

THE BHĀDĀṆAKA KINGDOM

According to the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, a well-known work on Sanskrit poetics, Apabhraṁśa was spoken by the Ṭakkas, the inhabitants of Maru and the Bhādāṇakas.[1] As the Ṭakkas lived in the Punjab [2] and Maru is obviously the desert of Rājputānā, the Bhādāṇakas must have, according to this reference, lived in a territory adjoining either one or both of these provinces. In the reigns of Vigraharāja IV and Pṛthvīrāja III of Śākambharī, the Bhādāṇakas were an important power. The Bijoliā inscription praises the former of these rulers for having deprived the *Bhādāna-pati* of his lustre.[3] The *Kharataragachchhapaṭṭāvali* of Jinpāla (died V. 1295) mentions the defeat of the Bhādāṇakas as the chief achievement of Pṛthvīrāja III up to the Vikrama year 1239.[4] As Vigraharāja IV is known to have fought against the Tomaras of Delhi, whose territory adjoined both the Punjab and the Sapādalakṣa kingdom of the Chauhāns, one is, on first thoughts, tempted to identify the Bhādāṇakas with the Tomaras. But a reference to our other sources makes us reject any conclusion of this sort. The Bhādāṇakas are mentioned in the *Skandapurāṇa* as ruling over a kingdom comprising 100,000 villages and as distinct from the Tomaras the number of villages in their territory was one lac and a quarter.[5] The *Sakalatīrtha-stotra* of Siddhasena Sūri puts them between Kanauj and Harṣapura, a town in Śākambharī-deśa, and mentions Siroha and Kammaga as the chief sacred Jaina places in the Bhādāṇaka country.[6] Now, of these two localities, Siroha is described in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabha Sūri as a big town lying on the route leading from Daulatābād to Delhi and as not very far away from the latter of these two cities.[7] It was situated very much to the north of Alāpura,[8] which, according to the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, was a town with a fort in the Sarkār of Gwālior. The Bhādāṇaka territory should therefore have comprised the tract including the present district of Gurgāon, a part of the Alwar State, and the Bhiwānī Tahsīl of the Hissār District in the Punjab. The territory thus defined adjoins both the old Ṭakka and Maru lands, could have been once a neighbour of Sapādalakṣa, included Siroha, is the home of a dialect which has striking affinities with both Rājasthānī and eastern Panjābī and is inhabited by a people who still preserve the tradition of having fought long and with the greatest determination against the Chauhān rulers Bīsala (Vigraharāja IV) and Pṛthvīrāja III.

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[1] *sāpabhraṁśaprayogāḥ sakala-Marubhuvaṣ-Ṭakka-Bhādāṇakādyāḥ* (*Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, G.O.S., p. 51).

[2] See the *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* of Hemachandra, IV, 25.

[3] Verse 19, *E.I.*, XXVI, p. 104.

[4] To be published shortly in the Singhī-Jaina-Granthamālā.

[5] *Kumārikākhaṇḍa*, XXXIX.

[6] *Catalogue of MSS. at Pattana* (G.O.S.), I, p. 156, verse 22. Read verses 22–27 for the general indication of the location of the Bhādāṇaka territory.

[7] p. 95 (Singhī-Jaina-Granthamālā Edition).

[8] *Ibid.*

DASHARATHA SHARMA.

REVIEWS

NĀMA-RŪPA AND DHARMA-RŪPA (origin and aspects of an ancient, Indian conception), by Maryla Falk, D.Litt. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1943, pp. 189.

The book contains nine chapters and an elaborate and useful index. The treatment is quite good in many places but in some places it is unintelligible. The problems discussed in this book need deeper consideration and clearer presentation. Here we may draw the writer's attention to the following important points. In her discussion on *dharma* she ought to have pointed out that the definitions of the term *dharma* as met with in the Buddhist and Brahmanical works are all one-sided, not to say far-fetched. *Dharma* is an end to be attained in conformity with injunctions in the Vedas. It is to be considered a distinctive quality of men to be achieved by means of action (work, conduct) as enjoined in the *Vedas*. *Satya* is that which is in conformity with *ṛta* and *ṛta* is that which is in conformity with *satya* and the same as to the relation between *satya* and *dharma*. The relation between *satya* and *dharma* as two aspects of one and the same idea or reality is emphatically brought out in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (1. 4. 14). In Indian literature, the word *dharma* is conveniently employed together not only with *satya* but also with such words as *artha*, *nyāya*, *yukti*, *tarka*, *śīla*, *vinaya*, *sama*, *paṭipadā* or the like, evidently to represent two different aspects of one and the same idea. *Dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* constitute the four ends of the Brahmanical system.

The writer has not explained clearly the meaning of *dharmakāya* which is to Mahāyāna the *dharmatā*, the *tathatā*, the *śūnyatā*, *paurāṇadharmasthititā*, i.e. the element of reality in itself. This *dharma* or *dharmakāya* is the most essential point in all that is taught by the Buddha (*cf. Saṃyutta Nikāya*, II, p. 267; V, p. 407). Her exposition of *jhāna* (*dhyāna*) leaves many things to be desired. *Jhāna* or ecstatic musing was a very long-standing practice similar to the *Yoga* of the Hindus and the four *jhānas* consist in the process of systematic elimination of factors in consciousness. Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Buddhist commentator, speaks of five *jhānas*, a somewhat later classification which had developed out of the four *jhānas* described and differentiated in the sutta portion of the Pāli Canon. Ekaggatā is the element of individualization which develops from time to time to *samādhi*. It remains a common factor throughout the jhānic process. It is the most essential condition of the entire process of *jhāna* (meditation). In the *Jhānasaṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (III, 263–279) Buddha mentions four classes of people who practise *jhāna*.

The writer's explanation of the *Sammādiṭṭhi Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* is not very clear (p. 107 f.n.). She has not clearly explained in the light of this sutta the exact meaning of *nāmarūpa*, the origin of *nāmarūpa*, the cessation of *nāmarūpa*, and the path leading to the cessation of *nāmarūpa*. The *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* of the *Majjhima Niyāka*, which contains the Buddha's advice to the monks to practise mindfulness, should be carefully read in order to understand the exact meaning of *satipaṭṭhāna*. It is by the fourfold mastering of mindfulness that one can pass beyond sorrow and lamentation and ills of body and mind and obtain the right path (*cf. Aṅguttara Nikāya*, IV, 150 foll.; *Dīgha Nikāya*, III, pp. 58–79). *Satipaṭṭhāna* constitutes a grammar of *jhāna*. It is mindfulness with regard to body (*Majjhima Nikāya*, III, pp. 88-9), sensation, mind, and phenomena (*dhammā*). Really speaking, it means wakefulness of mind, alertness and self-consciousness.

In her note on *pudgala* (individuality), it is a pity that she has not referred to the *Puggala-paññatti* which is an important book of Theravāda Buddhism on the subject. She has failed to discuss the point that the problem of individuality is bound up with the problem of the ego, percipient or internal knower (*vedagū*). One is to refer to the *Milinda-pañha* to make his or her idea clear about it.

The book under review is, on the whole, useful and helpful to the study of Buddhism and will be appreciated by all interested in the subject.

C. D. CHATTERJEE.

WAR IN ANCIENT INDIA, by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. Pp. xv+415. Price Rs.15.

This work, sponsored with an appreciative Foreword by the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, is claimed by the author in his Preface to be 'the first attempt to give an almost complete exposition of the art and science of war in ancient India, and a consecutive (connected?) account and the history of Indian military tradition from the earliest times to the end of the Vijayanagar epoch'. Although there are already some important works in the field like *The Art of War in Ancient India* by P. C. Chakravarti and a volume with the same title by G. T. Date, we may concede that the author has gone a long way to fulfil his ambitious programme. We find in the present volume an immense mass of data, arranged, on the whole, in chronological sequence and bearing on almost every aspect of the subject. Some idea of its comprehensive treatment may be formed from the titles of its chapters: Ch. I—The psychological background of war, Ch. II—The laws of war, Ch. III—Weapons of war as gathered from literature, Ch. IV—Army and army divisions, Ch. V—Departments of the army, Ch. VI—Strategy and tactics of war, Ch. VII—Aerial and naval warfare, Ch. VIII—Diplomacy and war, Ch. IX—Diplomatic agents. Three appendices, a bibliography and a good index bring this useful volume to a close.

While we have nothing but admiration for the industry and skill with which the author has marshalled his data from the most varied sources (Sanskrit and Tamil literature as well as archaeology), we may make a few observations. The author's use of such chronological labels as 'the Epic age' or 'the Paurāṇic period' is as unhappy as his persistent treatment of tales of Epic and Purāṇic as well as classical Tamil literature as sober history. This attitude is best illustrated by the following typical examples (pp. 34-5): 'If in the Epic Age a Rāma and an Arjuna could come to the extremity of our Peninsula, and in the historical period a Candragupta or a Samudragupta could undertake an expedition to this part of our country, nothing could prevent a king of prowess and vast resources like the Cera king Śenguṭṭuvan from carrying his arms to the north . . . In the Puranic period the great Kārtavīrya Arjuna of the Haihaya clan spread his arms throughout the Ancient Indian continent and earned the title of Samrāṭ . . . Every one knows the fate which overtook the 60,000 sons of Sagara in the course of their search for the sacrificial horse. We are told again that the young sons of Rāma—Lava and Kuśa—had the sacrificial animal of Rāma bound and this led to a great fight. In these cases the army was not certainly maintained for defences, but to satisfy the vainglorious temperament of certain monarchs.' Again, it is unfortunate that the author (pp. 42ff.) pins his faith exclusively to the definition of the Kṣatriya's duties in the Smṛtis, although elsewhere (pp. 180, 190, 193-4) he quotes examples of non-Kṣatriyas following the military occupation. It is also to be regretted that the author has only made occasional use (p. 172, etc.) of the rich material stored in the Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit literature.

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We have noticed some inaccuracies which may be rectified in the next edition. We quote below a few examples: Kaliṅga, a subject-country under Candragupta Maurya and his son (p. 38), the *Catuḥ-śatikā* reconstructed and edited by MM. Haraprasad Sastri (p. 63); the Ajanta frescoes representing political relations between India and Persia in 625-6 A.D. (p. 140); the Borobudur sculptures ascribed roughly to the eleventh century A.D. (p. 144); the Kambojas colonizing Cambodia about the fourth century A.D. kept up the traditions of the Kashmir schools in the temple of Ankhor (*read* Aṅkor) Vat (p. 144); elephant representations on the coins of Indonesia (p. 166); obverse of Persian and Macedonian types of coins containing a mounted horseman pursuing two mounted on an elephant and identified with Porus's pursuit on an elephant (p. 150); the Aśvins were a great commercial people having their home in a far-off island and their ruler Tugra maintained a fleet in the interests of his State (p. 187); the Senānī of Vedic literature tops the list of the Rājakṛts or king-makers (p. 220).

The paper, print and get-up of this work are all that can be desired in these trying times.

U. N. GHOSHAL.

IMPORTANT INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BARODA STATE, Vol. I, by A. S. Gadre. Śrī-Pratāpasiṃha Mahārājā Rājyābhiṣeka Grantha-mālā Memoir No. II.

This is the first monograph on epigraphy published by the Baroda Archaeological Department. It contains twelve select inscriptions of which the dates range between 200 and 1736 A.D. Six of them are brought to light for the first time by Mr. Gadre, while the rest are just re-edited. The Baroda-Mandvi-Gate stone inscription of Dāmāji Rao II of the Gaekwaḍ family is the earliest Sanskrit record of the dynasty as pointed out by Mr. Gadre. We hope that in near future another volume containing the Persian inscriptions will be published. As for the editing of the inscriptions, Mr. Gadre has carefully followed the method adopted so far in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The publication of this kind is praiseworthy as it really helps in writing an authentic history of India.

T. N. C.

INDIAN PICTORIAL ART AS DEVELOPED IN BOOK-ILLUSTRATIONS, by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Director of Archaeology, Baroda State. Gaekwad's Archaeological Series No. I. Published under the Authority of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda.

This is the first tangible result of the author's laudable idea to publish a series of memoirs containing the fruits of special studies undertaken by him and his co-workers. In the present monograph he has sought to establish that there existed an indigenous pictorial art in Western India developed in book-illustrations. The information regarding Devidāsa, a painter of Bāsohli, is valuable. In discussing the antiquity of the art of painting or picture-drawing the author might have utilized with profit the testimony of the sūtras of Pāṇini, the Vinaya Piṭaka, the Saṃyutta Nikāya and Buddhaghoṣa's commentaries. The pictorial art developed in book-illustrations may, along with Indian sculptures and paṭacitras, be regarded as the continuation and later development of what the Buddha described as *Karaṇa* or *Caraṇa citra*. Whether or not the Jaina paintings in book-illustrations of Western India tried to represent the Sakas as the typical of non-Aryans needs further investigation. The book on the whole is very useful.

B. M. B.

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AKBAR'S KHWABGAH AT FATHPUR SIKRI

By S. K. BANERJI

The small room known as the *Khwabgah* at Fathpur Sikri is a historic building not only because it served as Akbar's retiring room, but also because it corroborates several of A. Fazl's or Badauni's statements about Akbar. Some of them may be quoted here:

(1) '(Akbar) never wastes his time nor does he omit any necessary duty, so that . . . every action of his life may be considered as an adoration of God.'[1]

(2) 'He (Akbar) passes every moment of his life in self-examination or in adoration of God.'[2]

(3) 'His Majesty from his early youth has shown great predilection for the art of painting and gives it every encouragement.'[3]

(4) 'In the course of twenty-four hours His Majesty eats but once.'[4]

(5) 'It is my (Akbar's) duty to be in good understanding with all men.'[5]

(6) 'At one time a Brahman named Debi . . . was pulled up the wall of the castle sitting on a charpai till he arrived near a balcony which the Emperor had made his bed-chamber. Whilst thus suspended he instructed His Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism.'[6]

(7) 'His heart was full of reverence for Him who is the true Giver and from a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation.'[7]

The quotations may be multiplied showing that Akbar slept little, was abstemious in diet and a vigorous worker. Let us, however, confess that there is a different picture of Akbar as drawn by Badauni and some of the modern European writers:

(1) 'Yet there is not a shadow of doubt that many of the noblest of the (Rajput) rage were dishonoured on the "Noroza".'[8]

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[1] *Āīn-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, 154.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 107.
[4] *Ibid.*, 57.
[5] *Ibid.*, III, 385 from *Akbar's Happy Sayings.*
[6] Badauni (tr.), II, 265.
[7] *Ibid.*, 203.
[8] *Noroza* stands for *Nauroz* or *Khushroz*. See Tod's *Rajasthan* (Routledge edition), Vol. I, 275.

(2) 'He (Akbar) followed the practice of his family for many generations in consuming both strong drink and various preparations of opium.'[1]

(3) 'A large number of Shaikhs and *faqirs* were also sent to other places, mostly to Qandahar where they were exchanged for horses.'[2]

The building under consideration may be able to indicate as to which set of views may be accepted as correct by the great monarch.

Let us first describe the *Khwabgah.* It is one of the two principal chambers of the Khas Mahal, the other being the Turkish Sultana's House. Situated on the first floor, it is in size 14′ 3″ × 13′ 11″ and was at one time surrounded by a screened verandah. The rest of the terrace is bare and open. There were two pathways, one leading to Jodh Bai's palace and the other to Turkish Sultana's House. On the ground floor are several rooms, of which one with a high platform is called the *Yogi's* chamber and another painter chamber is supposed to have served Akbar as a dining-room. On the north side is an open courtyard beflagged with red sandstone. There is a cistern at one corner of the courtyard with a hollow stone platform in the centre. On the south side of the Khwabgah is a large enclosure with the State record room situated at its south end and a large open stone area at the west end for the Emperor to sit in the open.

The small retiring room itself is very ornately decorated and the ceiling is panelled with the exception of the centre which is carved as a pretty patera in relief and the walls are coloured in light blue. The upper portion of the walls are oblong stone lattices of a Chinese pattern used as shelves and at the top of the door is a window pierced by stone screens. Even the reveals, i.e. the sides of the doorway touched by the leaves of the doors are highly ornamented.

Near the ceiling are inscriptions in ornamented scrolls. The English translation as rendered by the Archaeological Department is given below:

(1) The Imperial palace in every respect is superior to the exalted paradise.

(2) There can be no question that it is a sublime paradise.

(3) This royal palace is elegant, pleasant and exalted.

(4) It is made to represent the paradise in form.

(5) The janitor of the paradise may make the floor of this dwelling his looking-glass.

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[1] V. Smith's *Akbar* (V.S.A.), 336.

[2] Badauni, Vol. II, 308.

(6) The dust of its threshold may become the collyrium of the black-eyed nymphs.
(7) The foreheads of those who bow down in adoration like the angels
(8) And touch the dust of thy door will shine like Venus.
(9) What a light! so great that the sun borrows its lustre from it.
(10) What generosity! that the world derives light from it.
(11) May his good fortune cause the country to be populated!
(12) May the light of his countenance dispel darkness!
(13) The decorator of the land of Hindustan;
(14) The destroyer of the thorns of this garden (Hindustan);
(15) I swear by the Almighty that the happiness of this building is augmented by its beauty.
(16) May the felicity of its owner be perpetually increasing.

How fulsome language the Mediaeval rulers used may be seen here. Emperor Akbar who was occupying the chamber was not disgusted with the words, 'the janitor of the paradise may make the floor of this building his looking-glass' nor with 'what a light! so great that the sun borrows its lustre from it'. Probably Akbar was illiterate, at least, in this period and could not comprehend the meaning of the lines around him. Be it what it may, one notices the following historical conclusions from the inscription:

(1) that the Emperor at this time ruled only Hindustan, including of course the Punjab and that neither Bengal and Bihar nor Gujrat was included in his empire;
(2) that he desired to suppress the rebels or the disaffected persons in his empire. It was only recently that he had suppressed the Uzbek rebels and the Mirzas and restored peace and order in the land;
(3) that what he cared for was an increase in the population of his empire and that his various administrative reforms including those in the revenue department were introduced to render his people contented. The happiness of the people seems to be his motto as against Alauddin Khalji who rejoiced in crushing down his own subjects and reducing them to an abject state of penury.

Next we may take up the fresco paintings of the stone wainscoting of the room. Of the eight pictures, not one can be deciphered today, but seventy years ago two of them were described by E. Smith. One represents a hunting scene and a battlemented house full of men, the other a boat in the river. The boat has sails and contains nine boatmen. The delineation of the individuals has been cleverly made in colour. On the shore is a cluster of houses intermingled with trees and spires. The grouping of the houses has been clumsily done showing that the Mughal artist had little knowledge of the perspective.

There are other frescoes in the reveals of the windows. Two of them have been described by Smith. One represents Buddha in a robe of vermilion and gold sitting in a *dagoba*, the sides and the bottom of which are made of bamboos. On the right side are two headless beings while on the left are two persons, one directing the other to Buddha. The picture is drawn by a Chinese artist as is evident from the drawing of the *dagoba* and its bamboo frame and also from the Chinese features of Buddha as *Yamāntaka*. Evidently the artist emphasizes the worship of the *Yamāntaka* and points out, by a drawing of the killed persons, the fate of those who forsake or oppose the *Yamāntaka*.

There is a second picture only less striking than the one just described. It shows a rock cave in which is standing a winged angel supporting in his arms a new-born babe. Probably the babe represents Christ and the whole scene has been taken from the Bible.

Both these pictures are a testimony to the catholicity of Akbar's mind. In his own retiring chamber, where he passed a considerable portion of his time, he had allowed the pictures of the prophets of other religions to be drawn after their own liking. Instead of an Indian Buddha, we get a Chinese *Yamāntaka* and instead of an Indian temple or *chaitya* we have a Chinese *dagoba*. Similarly in the second picture it is shown a cave of Palestine and the theme is a Christian theme.

These pictures corroborate the statements made by Jahangir and Monserrate that Akbar tolerated all religions. The former says, 'the professors of various faiths had room in the broad expanse of his incomparable sway' and again, 'Sunnis and Shias met in one mosque and Franks and Jews in one church and observed their own forms of worship'.[1] Monserrate confesses that Akbar without any intention of becoming a Christian loved the Jesuit priest, Rudolfus, and says, '. . . He (Akbar) began to love Rudolfus warmly not because he had any idea of becoming a Christian but because he perceived his love for himself (Akbar) in the fact that he tried so earnestly to induce him to accept this best of all paths to salvation'.[2] The pictures of both the prophets, Buddha and Christ, in the same room explains the occupier's respect for both of them but not an implicit obedience to the tenets of either of them. Monserrate himself confesses that at the close of the first mission in 1583, one day Akbar mentioned the existence of diverse faiths and expressed his doubts about most of them. The words quoted by Monserrate are, 'I (Akbar) perceive that there are varying customs and beliefs of varying religious paths . . . The followers of each religion regard the institution of their own religion as better than those of any other . . . This causes me to feel many serious doubts and scruples.'[1] That Akbar lived and died a Muslim is maintained by Mr. Sri Ram Sharma in these words, 'Akbar seems to have considered himself Muslim almost to the very end of his life'.[2] Du Jarric also maintains that Akbar defended his *mullas* against the Christian Fathers.[3]

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[1] Rogers and Beveridge: *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (tr.), 37.

[2] *The Commentary of Monserrate,* 194.

There is a third picture on the architrave of a door depicting the fight of two bulls.

These pictures indicate a pleasing trait in Akbar. The Muslim divines in India were hostile to any representation of human beings and animals so that no pictorial art was possible The orthodox Firuz Shah Tughluq had to remove the pictures from the walls of his palace[4] and the scholarly and pious Aurangzib had to discontinue the patronage of art. But, Akbar, illiterate though he was, encouraged the artists in every way so that in his time was established an Indian school of painting. This school attained a high excellence and though founded by two Irani artists, Mir Sayyid Ali of Tabriz and Khwaja Abdus Samad of Shiraz, it included many Indians, both Hindu and Muslim, who excelled in their profession. The lives of some of them may be studied in the *Āīn-i-Akbari*.[5]

The *Khwabgah* is surrounded by a latticed verandah with a lean-to roof. The stone screens have mostly disappeared but the roof with its decorations on its soffit and imitation stone tiles on the exterior still remain. The Khwabgah is connected by two pathways with two of the ladies' buildings, the Turkish Sultana's House and Jodh Bai's palace, enabling the Emperor and his womenfolk to easily meet each other.

Having described the building, we will next notice the significance of the proximity of the *Daftar Khana* and the *Yogi's* chamber.

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[1] *The Commentary of Monserrate*, 182.

[2] See his book on *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors* (Oxford University Press, 1940), 47.

[3] See Du Jarric: *Akbar and the Jesuits* (Routledge & Sons, 1924), 34. Monserrate gives a contrary view, i.e. Akbar took delight in the discomfiture of his own *mullas*.

[4] See Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi, 382.

[5] Vol. I, 107-8.

We have mentioned above that on the south side of the *Khwabgah* beyond the enclosure lies the State record room. It is clear from its location that Akbar regularly inspected the official records and that though devoid of the faculty of reading and writing, he took deep interest in the administration of his empire. It is recorded by Badauni that Todar Mal's new revenue settlement started with a village in the neighbourhood of Fathpur.[1]

The *Yogi's* chamber is situated on the ground floor adjacent to the *Khwabgah* and is very much larger in size than the Emperor's retiring room, being 43′ × 29′ with a few additional cells on the east side. The chamber contains a stone platform raised 7′ above from the ground and in area 14′ × 12′. This chamber is important for two reasons:

(1) As E. Smith mentions, the room affords a study of the different stages of the stone mason's work from commencement to finish. While at one corner may be seen a design in embryo sketched out by a pointer, at another corner may be seen the completed work of the masons. Thus it is apparent that the relief work of Fathpur was done *in situ* and not before fixing. Also, the work was not completed at the time of abandonment of the city in 1585. The entire city had been slowly rising out of the ground in these fifteen or sixteen years, 1569–85, and when Akbar, for whatever reasons, deserted it, all his buildings had not arrived at the stage of completion.

(2) It is a striking fact that a Hindu *yogi* was allowed by a Muslim Emperor a space more than seven times his own. Alauddin Khalji had tried to crush the Hindus in every way possible and even tried to starve them out; Mahmud Ghaznavi and Timur gave out the suppression of Hinduism as their motives for the invasions of India and here we see Akbar actually placing one of the generally despised Hindu ascetics close to his apartments. The very platform of the *Yogi's* chamber is almost equal to the size of the *Khwabgah* itself. That the *yogi* did not reside alone is clear from the number of the cells and the elevation of the platform indicates that ordinarily he would not be disturbed by anyone entering his chamber. The nobles who desired to meet the Emperor in the *Khwabgah* ordinarily would pass through this chamber. While

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[1] See Badauni: *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (tr.), 192.

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awaiting their turns for interview with the Emperor, they might or might not choose to converse with the *yogi*. If they desired, they would climb up the platform and talk to him, otherwise they would not disturb him. Since many of these visitors would be Muslims, it might have been one of Akbar's subtle ways of making his Muslim nobles familiar with the tenets of Hindu religion. A similar reason may have impelled him to place another recluse of the same religion next to the State treasury popularly known as the *Ankh Michauni*.

Rev. Heras has suggested[1] that the *Yogi's* chamber served as the king's dining-room and that the platform was meant for the use of the musicians who played during the king's refection. It is wholly a surmise and forms an adjunct to the Reverend's main theme that Jodh Bai's palace served as the Emperor's principal residence. We do not see any cogent reason why the hoary traditions handed down from generation to generation by Shaikh Salim Chishti's descendants who are residents of the place from Akbar's time should be rejected, especially when some of the traditions were against their orthodoxy. The residence of a Hindu beggarly recluse would not be dragged in by these orthodox Chrishtiwals unless they believed that there was truth in it.

The official guide to Fathpur Sikri[2] names it the lower *Khwabgah* and suggests that the chamber was used by the Emperor as the *Jharoka-i-darshan*, i.e. for showing himself to his people every morning. But the surmise does not seem to be correct for the following reasons:—

(*a*) The *Jharoka-i-darshan* faces east or west in the Delhi or Agra fort. The custom had grown with the Hindus, and probably with the Muslims also, that at sunrise they should get a glimpse of their Emperor. The window of the *Yogi's* chamber faces the south and hence would not serve such a purpose.

(*b*) A large crowd would gather to get a view of the Emperor. The southern enclosure would not allow a large number of people to assemble.

(*c*) In order that the Emperor be clearly visible to everyone in the crowd, the *Jharoka-i-darshan* should be situated on a terrace or raised 30′ or more from the ground. The window of the *Yogi's* chamber is only a few feet above the ground.

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[1] See his article on *The Palace of Akbar at Fathpur Sikri* in the *Journal of Indian History*, 1926.

[2] See Muhammad Ashraf Husain: *A Guide to Fatehpur Sikri*, 25.

(*d*) The Emperor took his stand in the *Jharoka* for an hour at the most on each occasion and so he would need only a standing or sitting space.[1] The *Yogi's* chamber if used as a *Jharoka* would be too large for the purpose and the Emperor would not allow any waste of space as is evident from his general town-planning. Moreover, the *Khwabgah* on the first storey could easily serve as the *Jharoka-i-darshan*.

(*e*) If the chamber was used as the Emperor's room, the adjoining cells served no purpose and the platform too should have been more accessible. As it is, the platform has no steps leading to it and temporary wooden steps would be an unsatisfactory substitute and hence unthinkable. If the platform was used by the Emperor there is no valid reason for the absence of the steps.

We have already mentioned that Akbar used to send for the divines of the different religions and hold a conversation with them in his *Khwabgah*.[2] Badauni states that several of them, Debi, Purukhotam, Tajuddin and Mulla Muhammad Yazd were drawn up either in a *charpai* or in a blanket and while suspended in the air, they held discourses with the Emperor on various religious topics. Today, if we examine the south end of the verandah of the *Khwabgah*, we will notice that there is no dripstone throughout the length of the verandah, though it is amply provided in other parts of the wall. The stone slabs forming the dripstone had been taken down for the convenience of those who would draw up the nightly visitors; for otherwise it would have been well-nigh impossible to raise the *charpai* or the blanket to the level of the verandah.

From Badauni's statement it is clear that Akbar invited some Hindus and those Muslims who were not strictly orthodox. Badauni also corroborates A. Fazl's statement that Akbar slept little; for these interviews, according to Badauni, lasted till past midnight and were held on metaphysical topics. May we not assume therefore that a man of his hard life and of his ideals and enquiring nature could not demean himself by yielding to the common failings of a debauchee? Tod's picture that Akbar took pleasure in de-

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[1] The space allotted to *Jharoka-i-darshan* in the Delhi fort is small.

[2] This conversation is different from the religious contests held in the *Ibādat Khana*.

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bauching the Rajput and other women does not appear to be in consonance with the life that Akbar led at Fathpur Sikri. It is possible that the Emperor at one stage or the other of his life had taken to drink as stated by Jahangir[1] but we would absolve him of any grosser vice. In fact, the picture that we form of Akbar at Fathpur is that of a sagacious administrator engrossed in work in the day and of a sincere seeker after truth and God at night. Thus the silent *Khwabgah* is eloquently proclaiming today the greatness and the nobility of soul of its founder.

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[1] See Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.

RAO AMARSINGH, THE WELL-KNOWN HERO OF RAJPUTANA

By BISHESHWAR NATH REU

Rao Amarsingh, the elder son of Maharaja Gajsingh of Marwar, was born on 17th April, 1613 A.D., and was by nature an independent, reckless and unyielding prince. This was the main reason why his father selected his younger son Maharajkumar Jaswant Singh I to succeed him on the throne of Marwar. As soon as Amarsingh came to know of this decision he, losing hope of his ancestral throne, took a band of selected Rathors and went to serve at the Mughal Court. Emperor Shah Jahan impressed with his gallantry soon got pleased and awarding him an elephant made him his courtier.[1]

After this, Amarsingh took part in several expeditions with the Imperial armies and was bestowed on by the Emperor a Mansab of 2,000 Zat and 1,300 horse[2] on 14th December, 1629 A.D.

Later, on the 10th December, 1634 A.D., the Emperor pleased with his bravery raised his Mansab to 2,500 Zat and 1,500 horse and again awarded him an elephant, a horse and a flag.[3]

Next year he accompanied Sayyad Khan Jahan to punish Bundela Junjhar Singh.[4] In this expedition when the fort of Dhamuni was captured by the Imperial army, Amarsingh decided to wait with his soldiers outside the fort till dawn. But in the meantime, the magazine in the fort caught fire by the sparks from the torches of the freebooters, and blew up a portion of the rampart which killed three hundred men of the Imperial army encamped on the other side of it. Though the casualty list contained a greater number of Amarsingh's own warriors,[5] yet he managed to help the wounded and kept order in such a splendid manner that no confusion reigned in the army.

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[1] *Badshah Nama*, Vol. I, chapter 1, p. 227.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, chapter 1, p. 291.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, chapter 2, p. 65.

We learn from the chronicles that on the invitation of Maharaja Gajsingh, he (Amarsingh) reached Lahore on the 9th day of the dark half of Paush, V.S. 1691 (4th December, 1634 A.D.) and was presented before the Emperor, who bestowed on him a Mansab of 2,500 Zat and 1,500 horse and a Jagir of five Parganas. But Col. Tod has written the Vikram year of this event as 1690 (1634 A.D.). (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. 2, p. 976).

[4] *Badshah Nama*, Vol. I, chapter 2, p. 96.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol.I, chapter 2, p. 110.

This presence of mind of Amarsingh again pleased the Emperor and on 19th January, 1635 A.D., he raised his Mansab to 3,000 Zat and 1,500 horse.[1]

After this, when Sahu Bhonsale, taking out a descendant of Nizamul Mulk's family from the prison in the Gwaliŏr fort raised the banner of revolt, Emperor Shah Jahan himself marched up to Daulatabad and from that place despatched three armies to punish the Bhonsale. In one of these armies, which was sent under the command of Khan Dauran, Amarsingh with his brave Rajputs was placed in the vanguard.[2] After suppressing this rebellion successfully, when Amarsingh returned to the Imperial Court in 1637 A.D., the Emperor awarded him a robe of honour, a silver caparisoned horse and a Mansab of 3,000 Zat and 2,000 horse.[3]

The following year when Shuja was sent to Kandhar with the Imperial army, the Emperor again awarded Amarsingh a robe of honour, a silver caparisoned horse and a trumpet and bade him farewell to accompany Shuja.[4] On 6th May, 1638 A.D., when Amarsingh was at Kabul with Shuja, his father Maharaja Gajsingh died at Agra. In fulfilment of the Maharaja's wishes Emperor Shah Jahan bestowing the title of Raja on Amarsingh's younger brother Jaswant Singh I made him the ruler of Marwar, and awarding the title of Rao to Amarsingh gave him Nagaur as Jagir. Further the Emperor raised his (Amarsingh's) Mansab to 3,000 Zat and 3,000 horse.[5]

In 1639 A.D. the Emperor was again pleased with his bravery and first gave him a horse and afterwards an elephant.[6]

In the month of March, 1641 A.D., the Emperor again ordered Rao Amarsingh to accompany Shahzada Murad towards Kabul and awarded him a robe of honour, a silver caparisoned horse and an elephant.[7] But after five months, when Jagatsingh, son of Raja Basu rebelled, the Emperor ordered Shahzada Murad and Rao Amarsingh to leave Kabul and go to Paithan via Sialkot to supress the rebellion.[8] After about seven months when Jagatsingh accepted the allegiance of the Emperor, the Shahzada and Amarsingh both returned to the Imperial Court.[9]

In the meantime the king of Persia had mobilized his army to capture Kandhar. As soon as this news was received the Emperor raised the Mansab of Rao Amarsingh to 4,000 Zat and 3,000 horse and awarded him a robe of honour and gold caparisoned horse,[1] and ordered him to accompany Dara Shikoh to check the advance of the Persian army. But as the king of Persia died he returned with Khan Dauran Nasrat Jang in October, 1642 A.D.

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[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, chapter 2, p. 124.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, chapter 2, pp. 136–138.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, chapter 2, pp. 246–248.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 37.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 97.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 145.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 228.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 240.

[9] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 285.

Some time after this event Rao Amarsingh fell ill and could not attend the Imperial Court. But when after recovery he attended the Court Salabat Khan—the Shahi Bakshi—being jealous[2] of the Rao uttered some harsh words,[3] which the Rao took as an insult to himself. This was enough to enrage the brave Rathor, who setting aside the etiquette of the Imperial Court as well as ignoring the presence of the Emperor thrust his dagger and pierced the heart of Salabat Khan, thus killing him at the spot.

We learn from the chronicles that at that time Amarsingh so much lost himself in anger that he advanced towards the Emperor and attacked him also with his sword, but it struck the throne instead and the Emperor escaping death took to his heels and entered the ladies' apartments.[1]

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[1] *Badshah Nama*, Vol. II, pp. 293-294.
(This Mansab has also been mentioned in *Badshah Nama*, Vol. II, p. 721.)

[2] It is already stated that the Rao received Nagaur from the Emperor in Jagir and as the boundaries of Nagaur and Bikaner were adjoining a boundary dispute arose on a trifling matter between the servants of Rao Amarsingh and of Karansingh, the ruler of Bikaner. But as Rao's servants were unarmed at the time, Karansingh's men, who were well armed, killed many of them. When this news reached Rao Amarsingh at Agra he sent words to his servants to avenge the death of their brethren. In the meantime Raja Karansingh, who was in the Deccan, also wrote a letter to Salabat Khan—the Shahi Bakshi—and persuaded him to help the cause of Bikaner. The Bakshi therefore issued orders to appoint a Shahi Amin to inquire into the dispute and forbade both the parties to take any further action into the matter. This was the main cause of the enmity between the Shahi Bakshi and the Rao (*Badshah Nama*, Vol. II, p. 382).

[3] It is stated in the chronicles that Salabat Khan addressed the Rao as Gavanr (fool), as is also evident from the following couplet:—

उण मुखतै गग्गो कह्यो, इण करलई कटार ।

वाँर कहण पायो नहीं, जमदढ होगइ पार ॥

(i.e.) as soon as Salabat Khan uttered the letter 'ग' the Rao took out the dagger and before the Khan could utter the word 'वाँर' (fool) the dagger of the Rao went through the heart of the Bakshi.

Badshah Nama describes the valour of Rao Amarsingh in the following words:—

'A young man like Amarsingh who surpassed all the other Rajputs of the well-known families in nobility and valour and for whom the Emperor thought that he accompanied with other Rajput nobles, will die in a great battle fighting against the enemy and will achieve good fame' (Vol. II, p. 281).

Col. Tod writes: Amra was conspicuous for his gallantry, and in all his father's wars in the south was ever foremost in the battle (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 975).

Seeing this Khali-ulla-Khan and Arjun Gaud,[2] two of the attending nobles, attacked the Rao, but when they could not face the enraged brave Rathor successfully, some six or seven other Mansabdars and mace-bearers also joined them. Though Rao Amarsingh faced them bravely yet, being encircled by those nobles—like Abhimanyu, a young hero of Mahabharat—was laid low.[3] This event took place on 25th July, 1644 A.D.[4]

Hearing the death of their master fifteen brave Rajputs of the Rao, who were present in the fort at the time attacked the Emperor's servants and within a short time, after wounding two Imperial officers and six mace-bearers, were themselves killed.

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[1] Col. Tod writes: He absented himself for a fortnight from court, hunting the boar or the tiger, his only recreation. The emperor (Shah Jahan) reprimanded him for neglecting his duties, and threatened him with a fine. Amra proudly replied that he had only gone to hunt, and as for a fine, he observed putting his hand upon his sword, that was his sole wealth.

The little contrition which this reply evinced determined the king to enforce the fine, and the paymaster-general, Salabat Khan, was sent to Amra's quarters to demand its payment. It was refused, and the observations made by the Sayyid not suiting the temper of Amra, he unceremoniously desired him to depart. The emperor, thus insulted in the person of his officer, issued a mandate for Amra's instant appearance. He obeyed, and having reached the Amm-khas, or grand divan, beheld the king, 'Whose eyes were red with anger' with Salabat in the act of addressing him. Inflamed with passion at the recollection of the injurious language he had just received, perhaps at the king's confirmation of his exclusion from Marwar, he unceremoniously passed the Omrahs of five and seven thousand, as if to address the king; when with a dagger concealed in his sleeve, he stabbed Salabat to the heart. Drawing his sword, he made a blow at the king, which descending on the pillar, shivered the weapon in pieces. The king abandoned his throne and fled to the interior apartments (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, pp. 976-977).

[2] Col. Tod has written him as the brother-in-law of Rao Amarsingh (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 977).

[3] *Badshah Nama*, Vol. II, pp. 380-381.

The Rao was cremated on the bank of the Jumna at Agra. Two of his Ranis became Satis with him there, three got themselves burnt afterwards at Nagaur and one at Udaipur.

The cenotaphs which were built to commemorate them or the Rao's descendants are still standing at Nagaur.

In some chronicles it is stated that the corpse of Rao Amarsingh was thrown in the Jumna.

Col. Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* writes: . . . . . . and his wife, the princess of Bundi, came in person and carried away the dead body of Amra, with which she committed herself to the flames (Vol. II, p. 978).

[4] In *Badshah Nama* the date of this event is given as H.S. 1054, Salkha, Jamdi-ul-Avval, Thursday (Vol. II, p. 380).

When this news reached the camp of the Rao and was known by the neighbours, Champavat Ballu and Rathor Bihari Singh[1] joined the retainers of Rao Amarsingh and got ready to kill Arjun Gaud. But before they could put their idea into action they were surrounded by an Imperial detachment and shared the fate of their master after laying low a number of Imperial officers.[2]

Col. Tod writes:

> The Bokhara gate by which they gained admission was built up, and henceforward known only as 'Amarsingh's gate', and in proof of the strong impression made by this event it remained closed through centuries, until opened in 1809 by Capt. Geo. Steell of the Bengal engineers.[3]

Some time after the death of Rao Amarsingh the Emperor bestowed a Mansab of 1,000 Zat and 700 horse on Rayasingh, the elder son of the Rao,[4] who gradually rose to rank in the Mughal Court.

In 1659 A.D. when Aurangzeb defeating Shuja near Khajwa made him to flee from the field, the former, to avenge himself on Maharaja Jaswant Singh I, raised the Mansab of Rao Rayasingh to 4,000 Zat and 4,000 horse, honoured him with the title of Raja and gave him the State of Jodhpur.[5] But his plan was frustrated by the said Maharaja.

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[1] Previously both of them served Maharaja Gajsingh (the father of the Rao) and Rao Amarsingh himself, but at present were in the Emperor's service.

In the chronicles of Marwar we find the name of Kumpavat Bhavasingh in place of Bihari Singh.

Col. Tod writes: To avenge his death, his retainers, headed by Balu Champawat and Bhao Kumpawat, put on their saffron garments, and a fresh carnage ensued within the Lal Kila. . . . the faithful band was cut to pieces (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, pp. 977-978).

[2] *Badshah Nama*, Vol. II, pp. 383-384.

[3] *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 978.

Col. Tod further states:

> Since these remarks were written, Captain Steell related to the author a singular anecdote connected with the above circumstance. While the work of demolition was proceeding, Captain Steell was urgently warned by the natives of the danger he incurred in the operation, from a denunciation on the closing of the gate, that it should thenceforward be guarded by a huge serpent—when suddenly, the destruction of the gate being nearly completed, a large cobra-de-capello rushed between his legs, as if in fulfilment of the anathema. Captain Steell fortunately escaped without injury.
>
> (The south gate of the Agra Fort is known as that of Amar Singh.)
>
> (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, pp. 978-799.)

[4] *Badshah Nama*, Vol. II, p. 403.

[5] *Alamgir Nama*, p. 288.

In 1676 A.D. when Rayasingh died the Emperor (Aurangzeb) bestowed a Mansab on his son Rao Indrasingh.

When Maharaja Jaswant Singh I died in 1678 A.D., the Emperor to avenge himself on the deceased granted Indrasingh the title of Raja and the administration of Jodhpur State.[1] But this time the loyal nobles of the late Maharaja did not allow him to succeed.

Indrasingh rose to a Mansab of 5,000 Zat and 2,000 horse. In 1716 A.D. Maharaja Ajitsingh of Marwar deprived him of Nagaur but in 1723 A.D. Emperor Mohammad Shah, being displeased with the Maharaja, re-granted the Jagir of Nagaur to Indrasingh. At last in October, 1726 A.D., Maharaja Abhai Singh snatched the Pargana of Nagaur from Indrasingh and awarded it to his younger brother Rajadhiraj Bakhat Singh.

At the time of Indrasingh's death at Delhi, in 1732 A.D., he held provinces of Sirsa, Bhatner, Poonia and Baihanival[2] as a mark of Imperial favour.

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[1] *Maaṣir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 175-176.

[2] These facts are corroborated by a letter, dated 4th October, 1732 A.D., of the minister of Rajadhiraj Bakhat Singh addressed to the agent of Maharaja Abhaisingh of Marwar at the Imperial Court.

EARLY MEDIEVAL HISTORY OF BENGAL

The Khaljis : 1204–1231 A.D.

Chronology and Political History

By ABDUL MAJED KHAN

Conquest of Bengal by the Muslims like the expansion of Islamic dominion in the Deccan was fortuitous. The early Muslim empire builders in Hindusthan, both the Ghaznavides, and their successors the Ghorids, did not go beyond Benares in the east. In both the cases their expeditions up to Benares were plundering raids. Neither the conquest of Bengal nor that of the Deccan was planned by the Turkish Sultans or their Deputies nor were the conquests effected with their approval. On the other hand these conquests were results of a series of plundering raids by adventurers, zealous of augmenting their fortunes beyond the frontiers of the then Muslim dominion in Hindusthan and at the cost of the neighbouring Hindu states. Curiously enough both Bakhtyar, the conqueror of Bengal and Alauddin were Khaljis, a people though originally Turks were not so regarded by the other Turks.[1] It would be wrong, therefore, to designate the conquest of Bengal and its addition to the domain of Islam as a Turkish feat.

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[1] The history of the origin of the Khaljis is very obscure. The tenth century writers like Khawarizmi, Istakhri and Ibn Khurdadbeh who shortly preceded them regarded the Khalaj or the Khaljis as they are known to the students of Indian History as originally Turks. The eleventh century writer Kashghari also admitted their Turkish origin but regarded them as the two lost tribes of the Ghuz. Ferishta and Nizamuddin (De, T.A., 132; Briggs, I, 286), however, tried to connect them with the Biblical personage of Noah and again with Chinghiz Khan, but their stories are not worth serious considerations. Both according to the earliest Muslim authorities and modern scholars like Raverty, Bartold and Minorsky the Khaljis were originally Turks. It is not definitely known when the Khaljis came to live in the Helmand valley in Afghanistan but scholars agree with Ibn Khurdadbeh, the author of Masalik-ul-Mamalik that they came there in the days of old. Yaqub-ibn-Lais, is said to have conquered Khalaj, Zabul and other lands. This shows that as early as the ninth century the Khaljis had given their tribal name to their place of residence in Afghanistan. By the time Sabuktagin came to power in the closing part of the tenth century the Khaljis were noticed in the region of Lamaghan (Jalalabad) and Peshawar. Though they had lived long in Afghanistan they could up to at least the tenth century preserve their Turkish characteristics in their appearance, dress, and language. Nizamul-Mulk and Utbi who wrote during the days of the Ghaznavides distinguished the Khaljis from the Afghans. Ferishta also follows them and describes the Khaljis as hangers-on of the Afghans. Utbi, however, went further and differentiated the Khaljis from the Turks as well. In this he was of the same opinion with Firdausi.

IKHTYARUDDIN MUHAMMAD BAKHTYAR KHALJI

His Early Career

Ikhtyaruddin Muhammad Bakhtyar Khalji[1] the conqueror of Bengal hailed from the Khalji tribe of Garmsir in Ghur. He came to the court of Sultan Muizzuddin of Ghazna for a suitable military service. But his short figure with unusually long hands and 'humble and unprepossessing' appearance disqualified him and the Diwan-i-Arz (Muster-Master General) rejected his application. He was, however, granted a small pension which he refused to accept and came to Hindusthan to seek his fortune. Being rejected in Dihli also he then came to Budaun and was granted a job on a fixed

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The Khaljis were not Afghans nor could they be recognized as their own people by the newly migrated Northern Turks due to their long severance of all connection. Thus the Khaljis began to occupy a middle position and were called by their tribal name. Minhaj, the thirteenth century chronicler also distinguished the Khaljis from the Turks. The Turks regarded the Khaljis as Non-Turks and looked down upon them as inferior people.

By the fifteenth century the differentiation between the Afghans and the Khaljis were no more and the Lodis who were in fact a member of the Khaljis were made into Afghans.

(See Raverty, T.N. Tr. 548; Raverty, JASB, 1875, Bartold and Haig in Encyclopaedia of Islam, IV, 876; Minorsky, Bulletin of LSOS, 1940, 417–34).

[1] Raverty, the translator of the T.N., reads the name as Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar or Muhammad son of Bakhtyar. This '*i*' of *izafat* he introduces in almost every name that we come across in Minhaj's history of the Khalji rule in Bengal. Blochmann contradicted him and read the name as given above in my text. Raverty in reply said that he found the word *Bin* inserted between Muhammad and Bakhtyar in certain old and reliable MSS. but the majority of MSS. have no *Bin*. It may be there was a copyst's mistake in one MS. which was thus perpetuated in subsequent copies. In the printed Text we have no *Bin* in the present case while the word is expressly mentioned in other cases where they should be. As for the custom of writing the name of the father following that of the son without any *Bin* which has been made much of by Raverty it may be pointed out that if it was universally followed we should not have found any *Bin* in the T.N. or any other Persian writing. Hence this argument is not very convincing. On the other hand we have two points in support of Blochmann's views; First we have محمد محمود عم· بختیار بود (T.N. Text, 146, fn.) which suggests that the name of the conqueror of Bengal was Bakhtyar. Secondly, *Yar-e-Bakht* in a verse of Isami (p. 96) (Futuh-us-Salatin) seems to be a pun on the name of the conqueror of Bengal. (See T.N. Tr. App. C; JASB, 1875, 79-80 and fn.) Ikhtyaruddin seems to have been the title assumed or granted by Aibak after Bakhtyar's initial successes in Bihar when he was honoured for the first time by Aibak by a present of robe of honour.

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salary by Malik Hizabaruddin, the Sipah Salar (Commander-in-Chief) of Badaun.[1]

Bakhtyar gave up his service in Badaun and came to Oudh, and Malik Husamuddin Ughul Bak having got proof of his capacity posted him to the fiefs of Bhagwat and Bhuili[2] on the frontier and within the region between the Karmanasa and the Ganges. Beyond

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[1] The Printed Text as well as Raverty's MSS. have 'Hizabaruddin . . . . fixed a certain salary upon him'.

There are various versions as to the activities of Bakhtyar after he left Dilhi and before he became a fief-holder under Ughul Bak of Oudh:

(*a*) According to one version Bakhtyar moved to Budaun and from there to Oudh and got fiefs under Husamuddin Ughul Bak.

(*b*) The second version is a little detailed, but its text is corrupt in all the MSS. noticed by Raverty. Raverty, however, tried to make out the following story: Ali, styled Nag-awri, entertained Muhammad Mahmud (Muhammad-i-Mahmud in Raverty), paternal uncle of Bakhtyar in his own service. When Ali became the fief-holder of Nag-awr he made over the fief of Kastmandi (or Kashmandi) to Mahmud. And when Mahmud died Bakhtyar became the fief-holder in his uncle's place (p. 549).

(*c*) The third version is almost the same as (*b*) (Text, 146, fn.), but there is no mention of Ali's becoming the fief-holder of Nag-awr. Instead it has the statement—

چون مقطع قنوج شد کشتمندی او را داد

Now taking the relative importance of the two persons, Mahmud and Ali, and of the two places Kastmandi and Kanauj, it is not improbable to hold that Ali held Kanauj and Mahmud's fief was Kashtmandi. Kanauj as Ali's fief is more preferable to the less important Nag-awr. The Gahadavala monarchy is known to have survived under Hariscandra, son of Jayaccandra, but the Hindu king had probably no control over Kanauj and had moved to the inaccessible region of Benares and Jaunpur (DHNI, I, 546).

Kanauj is within the geographically natural division of Budaun, and it is not improbable that Ali held it under the authority of Hizabaruddin. Bakhtyar was probably in the cash employ of Hizabar till his uncle's death after which he became the fief-holder of Kastmandi directly under Ali, and ultimately under Hizabar. This, if actually was the fact, does not conflict with the version in (*a*) above.

Isami, pp. 94–97, however, takes Bakhtyar from Dihli to Chitor and then directly to Bengal, pp. 94–97.

[2] There are variant readings with regard to the names of Bakhtyar's fiefs. Raverty found these names in certain MSS. utilized by him. His identification of the fiefs as given above has been accepted by all the scholars as very satisfactory. (See Hodivala, Studies, 206 also Mirzapore District Gaz., 1911).

The Belkhara inscription of Samvat 1253 or 1197 A.D. also indirectly tends to support Raverty's identification of Bakhtyar's fiefs with the region near and adjoining Chunar. (For the Insc. see ASR, XI, 128–30; JASB, 1911, 673–75). The mention of all the royal titles of the Gahadavalas, without the sovereign's proper name by Vijayakarna, the local *Ranaka* of the Chunar region 'may have some connection with the statement of the T.N. that . . . . the fiefs of Bhagwat and Bhuili were conferred upon Bakhtyar and may also reflect the unsettled condition of the . . . country' around.

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the Karmanasa in the east lay the non-Muslim territories of Magadha or South Bihar. Bakhtyar took advantage of it and began to raid the territories of Magadha, almost unopposed.[1] One of the cities to have felt the brunt of Bakhtyar's earlier raids was Maner near modern Patna. A series of successful raids made Bakhtyar rich in wealth and militarily powerful. His achievements and successes were soon recognized by Aibak, the Deputy of the Ghorid Sultan in India who conferred on him a robe of honour. Moreover, the Khaljis who were scattered all over Hindusthan as free-booters in the army of the Ghorids got in him a champion of their tribal cause and in fact as the later events show, they flocked round his standard.

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[1] At this time there was practically no ruler of importance in Magadha. As early as in the reign of Ramapala, the last great ruler of the Imperial Palas there were in addition to Pala Samantas of Pithi, two petty chiefdoms near about Gaya (DHNI, I, 349). After Ramapala's death in 1126 A.D. there were a quick succession of weak rulers on the Pala throne and according to the unanimous opinion of scholars Madanapala came to the throne in 1130 A.D. (DHNI, I, 352). Madanapala ruled for at least eight years as ruler of Bengal and South Bihar after which he was driven out of Bengal by Vijayasena and his reign up to at least the fourteenth year (date in Jaynagara Image Insc., JRASB, 1942, 216) was confined to Magadha. Who succeeded him is not known but there are archaeological evidences of the existence of two more rulers, Palapala and Govindapala. About Palapala nothing is yet definitely known, while Govindapala is known to have ruled near Gaya up to 1161-62 A.D. (JASB, 1921, 6 fn. 2). Though there is no direct evidence to regard Govindapala as a member of the Imperial Pala dynasty, yet 'the nearness of their dates and the findspots of their records suggest that' Madanapala was succeeded by Govindapala (DHNI, I, 369). After Govindapala, there was according to a Buddhist Sanskrit work no ruler within at least thirty-eight years (JASB, NS, 1921, pp. 14ff.)

Even before the final collapse of the Palas their hold on Magadha was greatly weakened. Govindacandra of the Gahadavala dynasty was master of the neighbourhood of Patna as early as 1124 A.D. (JASB, 1922, 81–84) and by 1146 A.D. he had extended his dominion up to Mudgagiri or Monghyr (EI, VII, 98–100). Archaeological records prove the dominion of the Gahadavalas over Shahabad in 1169 A.D. (El, V, App. p. 22) and over Bodh-Gaya in 1180 A.D. (IHQ, 1929, 14–30). The process of gradual annexation of Magadha by the Gahadayals would have resulted in the complete occupation by the rulers of Kanauj and Benares, but for the trouble that arose in the North-West which drew their full attention Archaeological records prove the existence of a line of rulers called the Senas of Pithi, who, according to the Tibetan records, were vassals of the Muslims and are generally placed in the thirteenth century (DUHB, I, 259–61).

Direct archaeological evidence is lacking to prove that the Senas of Bengal had anything to do with Magadha. A verse of Saraṇa who wrote during Lakṣmaṇasena's reign claims amongst other victories of the king, the overlordship of Magadha also. But this was possibly nothing more than the eulogy of the poet (verse quoted in प्राचीन वांला ओ वाङ्गाली by सुकुमार सेन p. १८).

The fact that Bihar or Magadha had no ruler is proved from the accounts in the T.N. Bhaktyar is never known to have fought any chief in Magadha. The Śramans of Bihar had to defend themselves.

Conquest of Bihar, 1203 A.D.

After being honoured by Aibak, Bakhtyar continued his plundering raids in Magadha or Bihar as it was known to the Muslims, for a year or two[1] till at last he made an assault on the fortified city of Uddandapaur (or Otantapuri) containing a University and as such called *Bihara* in the native language. The city was defended by 'shaven-headed Brahmanas' (Buddhist Sramans) who finally gave way to Bakhtyar. The Sramanas were put to sword in the first flush of victory but on seeing the pile of books—Bakhtyar learnt too late that it was a University town. Immediately after the victory at Bihar Bakhtyar hurried to meet Aibak at Budaun and the task of its final subjugation was deferred till his return.[2]

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[1] Text, 147.

[2] Minhaj does not give the date of the conquest of Bihar. Hasan Nizami, the author of Taj-ul-Maasir, says that after the conquest of Kalinjar when Aibak was proceeding towards Budaun on his way to Dihli Bakhtyar came to pay his respects from the direction of Awdandbihar (اودند بهار not Oudh and Bihar as misread by Elliot, II, 232. See T.N. Tr. App. D). The date of the Kalinjar conquest as given in the Taj-ul-Maasir has been read by Elliot as Monday, 20th Rajab, 599 H. The year 599 H. is corroborated by another contemporary work, Tarikh-i-Fakhruddin Mubarakshahi (Ed. Ross, 24). Ferishta also gives the same year (Briggs, I, 197-198). Thus the year 599 H. is established beyond all reasonable doubts. Elliot's reading of the day of the month as 20th Rajab is rather wrong, as the 20th Rajab of 599 H. does not fall on Monday, while the 20th Rajab of 598 H. corresponds to the week-day given. Since 598 H. is out of the question the explanation offered by Hodivala for Elliot's misreading is quite reasonable, and it is quite possible that Elliot read بیست (20th) for هشت (8th) which are almost similar in Semitic script. (Hodivala, Studies, 183). The day of the month was, therefore, 8th. This date (8th Rajab, 599 H.), the Christian equivalent of which was 24th March, 1203 A.D., again was, as is natural for a contemporary chronicler to record, a *Ruyyat* date and not a *Hisabi* date, the former being one day ahead of the latter.

The next point to determine is the place where Bakhtyar met Aibak. The T.N. does not name any place definitely, but Raverty says that it took place at Dihli (p. 552) and again elsewhere he says that it was at Mahoba that the meeting took place. Taj-ul-Maasir gives us the clear indication that the meeting took place at Budaun. Hasan Nizami says that after Aibak left Kalinjar for Dilhi via Budaun 'Ikhtyaruddin Muhammad Bakhtyar . . . . came from the direction of Awdandbihar'. Then he narrates the events at the meeting and then he says that 'in a fortunate moment . . . . . the blessed standards were waved and directed towards Dihli' (Elliot, II, 232) evidently from Budaun.

Considering the distance of Budaun from both Kalinjar and Bihar, the natural conclusion is that the conquests of Bihar and Kalinjar were almost simultaneous. That Bakhtyar did not wait in Bihar after his conquest is apparent from the fact that Bihar was conquered for the second time after his return from Aibak's presence (T.N., 150). The second conquest evidently meant consolidation and other minor annexations in Bihar territory.

A school of scholars following M. Chakravarty are inclined to place the meeting of Bakhtyar and Aibak after the conquest of Bengal, but their contention is not

He met Aibak at Budaun and offered a present of elephants and other jewels and in return obtained a special robe of honour from Aibak's private wardrobe and also other distinctions 'exalting him over the leaders of the time'.

Ikhtyaruddin Muhammad Bakhtyar soon returned to Bihar and consolidated the new conquest and also made a few minor conquests in adjoining territories. The unexpected victory at Bihar followed by the recognition by Aibak raised the morale of his men to a high pitch and he prepared himself for further conquests.

Raid on Nadia: Conquest of Bengal, 1204[1]

The news of Bakhtyar's victory and prowess had been broadcast among the neighbouring territories. The ruler of Bengal, Laksmanasena also heard the news. His advisors who were mostly Brahmins belonging to the non-martial classes became panicky and migrated to the geaographically more defended regions in the east. The

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worth serious consideration for obvious reasons. (For M. Chakravarty's Art, see JASB, 1908, 151ff).

[1] The date of the conquest of Nadia has been variously given by different scholars. Raverty—590 H.; Blochmann—594/95 H. (JASB, 1875, 340); Stewart—1203 A.D. (Hist. of Bengal); R. D. Bannerji—595 H. (Bangalar Itihas, II, 22); M. Chakravarty—596 H. (JASB, 1908, 151-52, 155); N. K. Bhattasali—1202 (I.A., 1923).

M. Chakravarty deserves special consideration. His argument is based on two points, viz., Firstly, the La. Sa. era, beginning in 1119 A.D. together with Minhaj's statement that Laksmanasena was on the throne for 80 years when Bakhtyar invaded Bengal; and secondly, the statement 'from the east of Hindusthan from the frontiers of Chin and Machin as far as Irak' (Raverty, 383) in T.N. describing the extent of Ghyasuddin's empire who died in 598 H. (Raverty, 383). About the former point it may be said that the origin of the La. Sa. has not yet been definitely established (DUHB, I, 233–38) and in any case this era was not used in Bengal either by Laksmanasena or by his sons and as such they had possibly no connection with it (H.C.R.C. in Asutosh Memorial Vols., Vol. III, pt. 2, Orientalia, 1–5). About the latter point it may be said that joint testimony of Hindu and Muslim records as noticed before does not allow us to place the invasion of Bengal before 1203 A.D. The above statement in the T.N. in the circumstances cannot possibly be regarded as anything more than the eulogy of a Court Chronicler. Mr. Chakravarty himself noticed the conflict of this statement with the facts gathered from Taj-ul-Maasir, but he tried to explain it away.

The date of the conquest of Bihar has been definitely fixed as 1203 A.D. or 599 H. In the following year (دوم سال Text—150) by which Minhaj evidently meant the Hijri year 600 that Bengal was invaded. The Christian equivalent of 600 H. was the period from 10th September, 1203 to 28th August, 1204. Now, if the conquest of Bihar was effected in March, 1203, simultaneously with that of Kalinjar a little imagination will allow us to fix Bakhtyar's return from the presence of Aibak in about September-October, 1203. Then allowing 4 or 5 months for consolidation in Bihar and making short preparation for further advance we may

King, however, refused to move away from his residence and had the *Aindri-Mahasanti* rites performed to avert the catastrophe.[1]

In the year following that of the conquest of Bihar, Bakhtyar marched upon Bengal and surprised Laksmanasena at his camp at Nadia. While his main army was following him, Bakhtyar with a few followers entered the city as horse-dealers. He passed unopposed till he arrived at the royal palace and surprised the royal guards. The old king thought it prudent to take to flight and escaped by the back-door and rowed down stream to safety. The surprise and the flight of the king had the desired effect on the morale of the people in the city, and before they could recover

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place the invasion of Bengal in April, 1204 A.D. June would be too late, for by then the monsoon would set in making the cavalry movement difficult if not impossible in Bengal. It may be said that the period of preparation would then be very short, specially when Bakhtyar was going to fight the king who had defeated the Kasiraja, and the kings of Orissa and Assam; but it should be remembered that whatever might have been the victories of Laksmanasena in his young age he was now an old man. The Sena military machine had definitely weakened and disruption of the kingdom was fast progressing. Ikhtyaruddin counted more on strategy than on strength and was confident of the morale of his people. The Madhainagar inscription of Laksmanasena also proves that the invasion could not take place before August/September, 1203 (Bhadra, 25th yr.). Then again we have the date of Kamarupa campaign (or Tibet expedition as given in T.N.) given in an inscription as March, 1206 A.D. (IHQ, 1927, 843; ibid., 1933, 39ff, Barua—HK, 2111 Bhattacharyya—MNEFP, 54 fn.) which according to T.N. took place not immediately after Bengal conquest but after some years had passed (چون مدت چند سال برآمد Text 151). Not only for consolidation but for gathering informations about the route to Tibet Bakhtyar must have taken a longer period than he took at Bihar and, not unreasonably, more than a year, as Minhaj says 'after some years'. Thus between the two known limits of 1203 and 1206, 1204 is the most reasonable date and its first half satisfies the condition of season and also of the Hijri year 600 H.

[1] Minhaj says that the Brahmins advised the king to migrate and even cited predictions from ancient books about the conquest of Bengal by the Turks. There is no gainsaying that the Brahmins and Merchants and also the king became very much afraid of the Turks. There is corroboration of this statement of Minhaj in the Madhainagar inscription of king Laksmanasena (IB, III). The village of Dapaniya within the circle of Kantapura was granted by the King as Dakshina for the performance of the *Aindri-Mahasanti* rites in 1203, the 25th year of Laksmanasena (JRASB, 1942, 17–21). The purpose of this rite was to avert either occurrence or recurrence of any catastrophe (*ibid.*). In the present case it meant the averting of occurrence and not recurrence as held by Dr. Bhattasali, for the simple reason that Bakhtyar had not come to Bengal in 1203, in which year he had conquered Bihar only. It seems improbable that after the Muslims had come the Sena king could grant lands near the Muslim Head-quarters of Lakhnauti and Devkot, whether Kanatapura is identified with the region near Chalan Beel (*ibid.*) or in Dinajpur (DUHB, I, 20). The performance of the rites shows the decay of the Sena military machine. On this point it may be mentioned that as early as 1196 A.D. one Dommanapala had declared his independence of the Sena king and had granted lands as an independent lord (IHQ, X, 321) in the Sundarban area.

their courage the main army of Bakhtyar arrived and overpowered them.[1]

Bakhtyar considering possible the inadvisability of making Nadia the Muslim Headquarters, in view of its close proximity to Vijayapura, moved to North Bengal[2] and made the Sena city of Laksmanavati or Lakhnauti, as it was called by the Muslim historians, his capital. Before, however, leaving Nadia Bakhtyar established an outpost at Lakhanor (Nagar) in Birbhum to keep watch on both the Senas at Vijayapura and the Orissans at Mandaran, and also to safeguard the line of communications that passed through Rajmahal passes. As a mark of gratitude for the favours shown by Aibak in the previous year Bakhtyar sent a portion of the booty captured by him to Aibak.

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[1] Nadia is not mentioned in any Hindu source as the capital or royal residence of the Senas. According to the *Pavana-dutam* of Dhoyi—, Vijayapura, near the place 'where the *Tapana-Tanaya* (Jamuna) starts off from Bhagirathi,' was the Rājadhānī or the official capital of the Senas (JASB, 1905, 59). Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri identifies Vijayapura with Tribeni in Hooghly district (DUHB. I, 32-33). Considering the early history of the Senas and their rise and also the statement in the Naihati grant of Ballalasena that his forefathers adorned the Rarh country the identification with Tribeni in the ancient division of Rarh is quite justified. It is possible that the capital was named after the actual founder of the Sena monarchy. The king, however, did not always live at the capital. Two of Laksmanasena's inscriptions mention a place, Dharyyagrama where the king had his camp in his 25th and 27th year (1203 and 1205/6 A.D. counting *rasaikavimsa* or 27 years in Saka 1127 or 1206 A.D., the date of the compilation of *Sadukti-Karnamrita* vide R. L. Mitra, Notices, III, 141). This Dharyyagrama has not yet been identified. Dr. Bhattasali sought to identify it with Rajavadi in Dacca, but his arguments are mostly based on traditions and as such on unstable foundations (JRASB, 1942, 1ff.). It is not unlikely that Nadia was Dharyyagrama, as the place was encircled by two waters of Bhagirathi forming it into an island, as the name Navadwipa suggests. It was a suitable place for the old king, to live in his old age, outside the busy life of the capital and yet within twenty miles of it. The dates of the inscriptions are very significant, 1203 and 1205/6 A.D. In 1203 Bakhtyar had not yet come and in 1205/6 Muslims were no longer there. Nadia was not made the Muslim capital possibly because of its close proximity to Vijayapura. The importance of Nadia as a non-Muslim political centre is proved from the fact that in 652 H. when Nadia was finally conquered a commemorative coin was issued in Ramadhan, 653 H. by Yuzbak. According to Minhaj the king fled to *Sankanat and Bang*. Phonetic resemblance makes *Sankanat* identifiable with Satgaon which within a century became a chief centre of the Muslims in Bengal. Satgaon is near Tribeni. Minhaj perhaps meant Vijayapura which was situated near Tribeni, probably at Satgaon. The Senas later migrated to Bang or Eastern Bengal. It seems, therefore, that the identification of Dharyyagrama of the Madhainagar and Bhawal plates with Nadia of T.N. is not improbable.

[2] If the Karika of Hari Misra (quoted in JASB, 1896, 20-22) is to be believed Bakhtyar drove Kesavasena from Varendra or North Bengal, where he was possibly a viceroy.

With headquarters at Lakhnauti Bakhtyar brought the adjoining territories under his sway. Possibly the regions of Kotivarsha and Varendri of the ancient division of the Pundravardhana-bhukti were brought under his control.[1] Khutba and sikka were introduced[2] and many public works like mosques and colleges were established by Bakhtyar and also by his chief lieutenants. Works of consolidation continued for more than a year when lust for further conquest began to torment his brain.

Invasion of Jajnagar, 1205

'Offensive is the best form of defence' was possibly the keynote of Bakhtyar's foreign policy. In order that the Ganga rulers of Orissa might be kept engaged, Bakhtyar, before his departure on Kamarupa campaign despatched Muhammad Sheran and Ahmad Sheran to Lakhanor (Nagar)[3] and commissioned them to raid the frontiers of the Hindu kingdom of Jajnagar.[1] Muhammad Sheran was engaged in his task till he got the news of the disaster falling upon his master, and then left for Devkot entrusting the command to his brother Ahmad Sheran. It was Rajaraja III, of the Ganga dynasty who was the then ruler of Jajnagar (Orissa) and the first Muslim invasion of the Orissan territories took place in 1205 A.D. [2]

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[1] 'Barind' of Minhaj evidently meant the Varendri division of the Pundravardhana-bhukti. Minhaj says that the kingdom of Lakhnauti had a wing called Barind. Varendri according to Ramacarita was the name of the region bounded by the Ganges and the Karatoya, the latter of which then flowed through Atrai and Chalan Beel into the Ganges. Devkot was within the ancient division of Kotivarsha. The kingdom established by Bakhtyar may be said roughly to correspond to the modern districts of Rajshahi, Malda, Dinajpur and Western half of Pabna and Bogra.

[2] Minhaj says that Bakhtyar introduced coinage, while Nizamuddin asserts that he minted coins in his own name (سکه بنام خود کرد). (T.A. I, 5.)

[3] Lakhanor has been identified with Nagar, through which lay an ancient pilgrim route connecting Orissa with Northern India (Banerji, Orissa, I, 248). The identification seems to be quite reasonable. The seventh century Chinese traveller Huen Tsang is known to have gone to Odra (Orissa) via Karna-suvarna, the region now represented by the northern part of Murshidabad and Birbhum districts. This proves that there was a highway connecting northern India and Orissa through this region. According to Minhaj, Lakhnauti was equidistant from Lakhanor and Devkot. Devkot is about 75 miles from Gaur while the distance of Nagar or Rajanagore, the capital of the Rajahs of Birbhum, is about 85 miles to the south. The place is now in ruins, but 'enough remains to demonstrate its former existence' (Hunter, S.A.B., IV, 335). Cunningham also is of opinion that Lakhanor was Nagar (ASR, VIII, 146-7). Stewart, in his History of Bengal, makes the same suggestion.

Geographically and strategically Nagar held a very important position. It defended the route connecting Bengal and Upper India that passed through the passes of Teliagarhi and Sikligalli. It moreover served as an advance base both against the Sena dominion in Rarh (with capital at Vijayapura near Tribeni in Hooghly district) and the Orissan outpost at Mandaran in the Arambagh subdivision of Hooghly district and also guarded the route from Orissa. In addition it served as a check against any hostile move from the Sena outpost at Nadia.

Tibet Expedition and War with Kamarupa, 1206

Easy success in Bihar and in Bengal made Bakhtyar over-confident in himself and fanned his lust for further victories. To use Barani's language describing Alauddin's successes, 'the world smiled at him, fortune befriended him, and his schemes were generally successful, and so he became more reckless'. He had no Ala-ul Mulk to advise him to subjugate Bengal more completely before proceeding on an expedition in a distant land, geographically inaccessible. The legend of Gushtasib's buried wealth and the story that he came to Hindusthan from Chin via Kamarupa were perhaps responsible for encouraging him in his project. An army of 10,000 horse was prepared. Ali, a Mech, who had been converted to Islam by Bakhtyar agreed to guide the expedition.

Bakhtyar started from Lakhnauti and arrived at Bardhankot on the eastern bank of the Karatoya river.[3] Ali, the guide of the expedition joined Bakhtyar at Bardhankot. Bakhtyar then moved in a north-easternly direction till he arrived on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra. Proceeding thence eastward the army reached a river over which there was a stone bridge of over twenty spans.[1] Bakhtyar passed over the bridge and posted two officers of his army, one a Turk and another a Khalji to guard it, when messages came from the King of Kamarupa requesting Bakhtyar to desist from the campaign in that year. The king further urged upon

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[1] Jajnagar was the name generally applied to Orissa by the Muslim chroniclers. M. Chakravarty has satisfactorily identified it with Jajpur on the Vaitarani river which as late as the last quarter of the eighteenth century bore the name of Jajnagar. R. D. Bannerji sought to identify the place with Jajallanagar in Chattisgarh, but at last he admitted that by Jajnagar the Muslims always meant Orissa (Orissa, I, 258).

The Ganga dynasty was ruling in Orissa when Bengal passed under the Khaljis and the incursions of Khaljis in Orissa began. (For M. Chakravarty's art, see JASB, 1909, 217.)

[2] Ray, DHNI, I, 477.

[3] The name is variously read as Mardhankot, Dardhankot, and Bardhankot (Text, 152). There is a Bardhankot in Bogra about 20 miles from Bogra town. Dr. Bhattasali while determining the route of Bakhtyar's Tibet Campaign in IHQ 1933, made an alternative suggestion of Nek-Mardan in Dinajpur district, but it has no big river in front of it. Minhaj says that in front of it there is a big river called Bangmati, Bakmadi, or Begmati. There is no doubt that Karatoya has been meant. Huen Tsang is known to have crossed a river for going to Kamarupa from Pundravardhana. Though he does not definitely name the river, the controversy of identifying the river with either Karatoya or Brahmaputra has been set at rest by Tang-Shu who named the river as Ka-lo-tu or Karatoya (Watters, 186). Though the Karatoya is now almost a dead river it was once very big to justify the description 'of vast magnitude, in magnitude, breadth, and depth . . . three

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times more than the river Gang (Ganges)'. The Karatoya was once such a big and important river so as to determine the boundary of Varendri while the other boundary was the Ganges. There is evidence that the Karatoya was very wide in front of Bardhankot.

Now the problem is to explain the name Bangmati given to it by Minhaj. It is not impossible that like the Kosi which now joins the Ganges up the Rajmahal and which once flowed into the Brahmaputra (DUHB, I, 6), the Begmati of Nepal, noticed by Raverty also once flowed in Bengal and joined Karatoya near Bardhankot so as to give its own name to the river at this point. Or, in the alternative, which is more probable, Minhaj may have transferred the name of Barnadi over which there was the stone bridge in Assam to Karatoya in front of Bardhankot. Bardhankot was once a very important city of Bengal and during the early part of the thirteenth century it was under the control of the ruler of North Bengal. Bakhtyar must have reached Bardhankot by crossing the Karatoya by boat.

It may be noticed in this connection that 'Minhaj had little or no knowledge of geography and he has merely repeated' and sometimes confused 'the random gossip and hearsay reports which he picked up at Lakhnauti'. It will be vain to follow him at every step. It is by careful sifting of facts from T.N. and reasonable play of imagination that Bakhtyar's route is to be determined.

The region between the Barnadi in the east and Karatoya on the west was a sort of no man's land inhabited by Koch, Mech, and Bhutia tribes. The kingdom of Kamarupa lay below the Brahmaputra and its capital was at Gauhati (Pragjyotiṣpura), and the effective control of the Bengali king did not at this time extend much beyond Bardhankot in the east. That the king of Kamarupa had no effective control over this region is proved from the fact that when Bakhtyar swam across the Barnadi and came to its western bank he was given aid by the Mech people who escorted him safely up to Devkot, and the king of Kamarupa who was then Bakhtyar's enemy could not intercept them.

The king of Kamarupa did not take much notice of Bakhtyar's expedition till he came dangerously too close to his capital at Gauhati. The inscription does not say that Bakhtyar invaded Kamarupa, but it merely says that the 'Turks came into Kamarupa and were destroyed' (IHQ, 1927, 483).

That the expedition was not directed towards the Darjeeling region as held by Blochmann and his followers is proved from later expeditions of the Muslim kings of Lakhnauti which were definitely directed against Kamarupa. We do not know of any expedition of the Khalji or Turkish rulers of Bengal being directed against Darjeeling.

(See K. L. Barua, History of Kamarupa; IHQ, 1933, 39ff.)

[1] Dalton noticed a stone bridge in ruins at Silsako (or Silhako) over Barnadi, which joins Brahmaputra near Gauhati (JASB, 1851, 291). It is quite possible that its name corrupted into Bangmati was transferred to Karatoya by Minhaj.

him to come next year better prepared when he too would join the expedition. Bakhtyar disregarded the warning and began to move northward for several days till he reached Kumarikata on the Bhutan border.[1] There was an open space there and the people fought the Khaljis throughout the whole day. The success of the Khalji army was not very decisive and they were able to capture only a few prisoners. These prisoners spoke of a greater number of armed forces that would be coming next day. Bakhtyar's army was already exhausted by the journey through the inaccessible regions, and also by the day's fight. He consulted his lieutenants and a retreat was ordered. On the return journey down the hills and jungles, Bakhtyar and his army were continually harrassed by the native people who had destroyed all supplies on the way. No food for his soldiers nor any fodder for the cattle could be obtained, and the army had to live on horse-flesh. In this condition the retreating army reached the bridge where, to their utter misfortune, they found the bridge deserted by the guards and partly destroyed by the king of Kamarupa so as to make Bakhtyar's retreat impossible. He was attacked by the Kamarupa king and was compelled to take shelter in an adjoining temple. There too he was not allowed any rest as the Kamarupa forces commenced constructing a bamboo pallisade round the temple so as to make Bakhtyar's escape impossible. He saw the danger and dashed out with his whole army and made for the river. The river was fordable up to a certain distance and this tempted the whole army to rush towards it. The torrent, however, drowned most of the soldiers and Bakhtyar with only a handful of followers could with difficulties swim across.[2] Kinsmen of Ali, who heard the news of the disaster, came to the aid of Bakhtyar and he was escorted to Devkot.[3] At the height of his success this sudden disaster became fatal and he became mortally afflicted. The air of Devkot was

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[1] Variants—Kar-battan, Kar-pattan or Karar-pattan (Raverty, 567) and Karambatan, Karambeen or Larambeen (Text, 154).

[2] The date of Bakhtyar's advance and the destruction of his army is given in the inscription as 13th Choitra, 1127 Saka. There are differences of opinion as regards the Christian equivalent of this date, but in any case it was March, 1206 A.D. (P. Bhattacharyya, कामरूप शासनावली, 44; IHQ, 1927, 843 ; *ibid.*, 1933, 50).

[3] Devkot or Devikot is now in Balurghat Sub-division of Dinajpur district, near the ruined fort of Damadama on the Purnabhaba river. Close to it at Gangarampur was found the earliest Muslim inscription of the reign of Kaikaus Shah. After Bakhtyar's death it became the chief city of Muslim Bengal till Iwaz transferred the capital to Lakhnauti. The ancient name of the Devkot region was Kotivarsha.

(See also Martin, Eastern India, II, 660; ASR, XV, 95–100).

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filled with cries of widows and orphans of his soldiers who had perished due to his folly and they began to shower curses on him.

Bakhtyar's death, 1206

The condition of Bakhtyar's illness began to worsen every day and at last he died in 1206 A.D. (602 H). Minhaj states that Bakhtyar was stabbed to death by Ali Mardan Khalji, one of his lieutenants.[1]

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[1] From the narrative of Minhaj linking the death of Sultan Muhamad Bin Sam and Bakhtyar it seems that the latter died about April or May, 1206 A.D.

MISCELLANEA

GEOGRAPHY AND POPULATION

The science of geography is primarily concerned with man and his habitat. Man lives and acts everywhere in groups. Human groups do not prosper in isolation. The Chenchus inhabiting the Nallamalai Hills of South India have very little to do with the outside world, and hence their number is restricted to 2,000 only. Here, the nature of the country, impenetrable jungle and broken ground, helped the Chenchus to live their own life for centuries. The Gangetic valley, on the other hand, is swarmed with human beings. Here, the nature of the country is totally different, no longer hills, but vast stretches of plains intersected by wide open rivers.

The first human group in the Gangetic valley set out at once to subjugate the country bit by bit with the help of the favoured animals and plants. When the task was found to be too difficult for one group, another group came forward to assist and coalesced with the first. That was how the population increased in leaps and bounds in the whole of the Gangetic valley. Other valleys of the world like those of the Indus, the Nile, the Hwangho and Yangtse-Kiang, the Tigris and Euphrates became similarly centres of attraction for the early nomads looking for their permanent home.

When the chance came, the early man gave up his nomadic or semi-nomadic life in no time and became deeply rooted to the soil. The nomads of the present day have not yet got their chance of settling on land, though more than a hundred thousand families of nomads have been settled in recent years by the Russian Government in the Karakum and Kizilkum deserts of Russian Turkestan. In some places, however, the concentration of population became so dense, that the land was not capable of providing sufficient nourishment for all. Under similar circumstances a swarm leaves a hive and builds up another one long way off. Man did the same thing, and left their land of birth in groups with a view to continuing the same mode of life in distant land.

The freedom of man to migrate where he likes has been severely curtailed today by immigration laws. The people of densely populated countries like India and China where live two-fifths of the population of the world are not allowed to emigrate to countries with vast open spaces. The people of Europe, another densely populated region, are, on the other hand, encouraged to emigrate to such lands. But the rate of emigration would naturally be slow, because in the first instance it is individuals that emigrate under artificial stimulus and not the groups as is natural, and secondly, Europe can now ill afford to send their able-bodied citizens across the seas. Hence some parts of the world still contain surplus populations, which could very well emigrate to those countries which are sparsely populated.

TABLE

(*showing geographical distribution of populations*) [1]

Continent or country	Area in sq. miles (000's omitted)	Population (000's omitted)	Density per sq. mile	Percentage of world's total land surface	Percentage of world population
Asia (excluding U.S.S.R.) ..	10,378	1,134,500	109	21	53
Europe (excluding U.S.S.R.) ..	2,093	400,100	191	4	18
U.S.S.R. ..	8,176	170,400	21	16	8
North America (including Mexico) ..	8,352	161,580	19	18	8
South America (including Carribbean)	7,247	112,530	16	14	5·5
Africa ..	11,710	155,500	13	25	7
Australia (including New Zealand) ...	993	10,670	10	2	0·5

A glance at the Table showing the geographical distribution of populations will indicate that the 'Oikumenes' contains over 200 crores of human beings. Of these, more than one-half live in Asia which covers only one-fifth of the total land area of the world. Europe and Asia have between them four-fifths of the total population of the world. Africa covers one-fourth of the land surface of

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[1] Based on statistics given in Statistical Year-Book, League of Nations, 1940. Population figures are estimates for the year 1938.

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the world, that is to say, even larger than Asia in size, but does not have more than two-fifths of the population of India. The New World is slightly smaller than Eurasia, but its population is less than one-sixth of the former, even not as many as there are in India. Oceania is twice as large as India, but its population amounts to one crore only.

Mankind is a product of Asia. Marcellin Boule, an eminent palaeo-geographer, tells us that 'Asia was the laboratory where the differentiation of the ancestor of Mankind must have been in process of elaboration'. The great Central Asiatic plateau was perhaps the centre of dispersal of mankind. It is, therefore, natural that Asia would be the home-land of the majority of the peoples of the world. The monsoon lands of Asia, with their warmth and rainfall, and fertile plains became important centres of human settlement.

Europe is the world's most densely populated continent, the density of population per square mile being about twice as much as in Asia. Since Europe occupies only four per cent of the land surface of the world, the land resources could not be adequate for the vast populations, and hence foods and raw materials have had to be imported into the continent to support the large populations. Europe has, therefore, placed considerable emphasis on industrialization.

Of the countries of Eurasia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the U.S.S.R.) has the largest land resources which are now being systematically utilized by the Soviet Government.

The remaining continents are very sparsely populated. In none of them, the density of population per square mile exceeds one-fifth of that in Asia. The land resources of these continents, especially of Africa, South America and Australia, can never be utilized fully until the present immigration laws are repealed with a view to enabling the peoples of tropical and sub-tropical countries like India and China to emigrate freely to those continents.

S. P. CHATTERJEE

CULT OF THE GODDESS ṢAṢṬHĪ OF BENGAL

The name of goddess Ṣaṣṭhī cannot be found in any ancient Sanskrit Purāṇa or any other Sanskrit religious literature. Some of the later Purāṇas however, such as *Devībhāgavata* and *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, contain references to, and an account of, her. According to the former Ṣaṣṭhī is an epithet of Durgā in the form of Kātyāyanī, one of the sixteen divine mothers. In order to set up the aristocracy of goddess Ṣaṣṭhī in this way, some of the later Purāṇas have sought to picture her as being identical with Durgā. But just like Manasā and Maṅgal Caṇḍī, Ṣaṣṭhī is a local popular deity. Ṣaṣṭhī has found a niche in one or two latter-day Sanskrit Purāṇas exactly in the manner in which Manasā and Maṅgal Caṇḍī have secured a place in the later Purāṇas.

Infant mortality is a chronic ailment in Bengal. It was particularly virulent in ancient society which was steeped in superstition. For this reason, the weak and ignorant society of by-gone times conceived of a goddess as the protectress of infants. How long this goddess Ṣaṣṭhī was being held in worship in societies other than Aryan even before her entrance into the later Purāṇas cannot be precisely stated, though it may be presumed that a goddess as the protrectress of infants was conceived of in societies of the remote past. May be her name was something other than Ṣaṣṭhī which it is impossible for us to discover today. Among the excavations at Mahenjo-daro and Harappa there are the miniature figures of the Mother-goddess who has been held to have been conceived both as a guardian deity of the house and the protectress of the new-born child as well.[1]

There is an identical goddess named Hāritī in Buddhist Tantric literature. But there is some difference in the nature of Hāritī and goddess Ṣaṣṭhī. Hāritī is the stealer of children, in other words, she is the cause of infant mortality. The well-being of the new-born infant is sought to be secured by means of propitiating her first with votive offerings. In her character it is the malignant aspect that predominates, but goddess Ṣaṣṭhī is the protectress of babies—the beneficent aspect is the special trait of her character. Hence Buddhist Hāritī and latter-day Purāṇic Ṣaṣṭhī have sprung from two different traditions. In Bengali society the name of another popular deity similar to the character of Hāritī can be met with. She is Jātāpahāriṇī, that is to say, she abducts or kills new-born babies. It appears that Hāritī of the Buddhist Tantric sect and this popular Jātāpahāriṇī are identical. They have no connection whatsoever with goddess Ṣaṣṭhī.

In Ṣaṣṭhī, the popular goddess of Bengal, it is the beneficent aspect that appears to predominate as in the great mother goddess of Mahenjo-daro and Harappa—the malignant aspect is altogether absent from her character. This trait of goddess Ṣaṣṭhī of all the popular divine characters of Bengal, deserves special notice in this respect.

The practice of the worship of Ṣaṣṭhī on the sixth day of the birth of a child has been in vogue in Bengal from the hoary past.

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[1] E. Mackay, *The Indus Civilization*, 1935, p. 67.

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It is found in the *Caitanya Bhāgavata* that after the birth of Caitanya, the worship of Ṣaṣṭhī was performed according to usual rites in due time.[1] It goes without saying that in Bengali society the worship of Ṣaṣṭhī on the sixth day of the birth of a child has been actually in practice from long before it. In some places of Bengal there are places believed to be presided over by Ṣaṣṭhī—these places are known as '*Ṣaṣṭhītalās*'. The mother often goes to these places and performs the worship of Ṣaṣṭhī there with a view to securing the well-being of the child. Besides there are arrangements for the worship of Ṣaṣṭhī in household as well. Generally goddess Ṣaṣṭhī, worshipped in the household, has not got any image. The late N. N. Vasu has published the account of an image of Ṣaṣṭhī in his *Archaeological Survey of Mayūrbhañja*.[2] But some have suspected it to be the image of Manasā.[3] This suspicion seems to be quite legitimate.

Though there are the images of Hāritī in ancient Buddhist sculpture, no image of Ṣaṣṭhī seems to have been ever engraved. At least none of the ancient images of Hindu deities, that have so far been discovered in Bengal, can be identified as the image of Ṣaṣṭhī. Be that as it may, this merely proves that the supremacy of goddess Ṣaṣṭhī was limited to the female community alone. In particular, it is the women-folk that are principally concerned with children. Though, therefore, goddess Ṣaṣṭhī has received only nominal homage from the male community under the umbrage of only one or two latter-day Purāṇas, yet among the female folk of Bengal her predominance has all along remained intact. As several diverse-natured female deities, born in different ages under different historical conditions, have in course of time been unified into the single name of Caṇḍī, so have a number of distinct female deities who figured themselves as the protectresses of children and were born in different periods and under different circumstances out of the diverse strata of society, been mingled, in process of time, into the sole epithet of Ṣaṣṭhī. This goddess has been named Ṣaṣṭhī because of her being the presiding deity over the rites which are performed on the sixth (*ṣaṣṭha*) day of the new-born babe for the sake of securing its well-being; the name Ṣaṣṭhī can have no other signification. It is this epithet Ṣaṣṭhī which has subsequently been extended to all the deities who are beneficent to children. This is why the following twelve distinct kinds of Ṣaṣṭhī[1] are held in worship during the twelve months of the year, as: Dhūlo Ṣaṣṭhī in Vaiśākh, Araṇya (Jungle) Ṣaṣṭhī in Jyaiṣṭha, Koḍā Ṣaṣṭhī in Āṣāḍh, Loṭan Ṣaṣṭhī in Śrāvaṇ, Manthan Ṣaṣṭhī in Bhādra, Durgā Ṣaṣṭhī in Āśvin, Goṭ Ṣaṣṭhī in Kārtik, Mūlā Ṣaṣṭhī in Agrahāyaṇa, Pāṭāi Ṣaṣṭhī in Pauṣ, Śītalā Ṣaṣṭhī in Māgh, Aśokā Ṣaṣṭhī in Phālgun, and Nīl Ṣaṣṭhī in Caitra. But in reality none of them is Ṣaṣṭhī. Only the presiding deity over the natal rites performed on the sixth day of a new-born child is real Ṣaṣṭhī. In subsequent times she has been called Janma-Ṣaṣṭhī so as to contradistinguish her from the other Ṣaṣṭhīs. As already said, it was from this Janma-Ṣaṣṭhī that the name Ṣaṣṭhī was derived, and latterly extended also to those other popular goddesses deemed to be beneficent to children. The rites of the worship of Janma-Ṣaṣṭhī, and the legend connected with her, differ altogether from those of the other Ṣaṣṭhīs.[2] But in course of time it was another kind of Ṣaṣṭhī of an altogether different nature who began to occupy a position superior to that of this Janma-Ṣaṣṭhī: She is Arṇya (Jungle) Ṣaṣṭhī, also known as Jāmāī Ṣaṣṭhī. The blessings of this Ṣaṣṭhī are prayed for so that daughter and son-in-law might be blest with children. In Bengali society the son-in-law has always occupied a privileged position; perhaps it was because of this that rites connected with him gradually received greater recognition and dignity from the populace. One or two short poems were in course of time composed on the story that was current in the legend[3] associated with this Araṇya Ṣaṣṭhī or Jāmāī Ṣaṣṭhī. These are known as Ṣaṣṭhī Maṅgal. The story is generally as follows:—

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[1] Vṛndāvan Dās, *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, 1, 3 (Vasumatī Ed.).

[2] N. N. Vasu, *Archaeological Survey of Mayūrbhañja*, p. xxxviii, plate 15.

[3] N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanic Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929, p. 227 f.n.

It was only the low-class poor people who used to perform the worship of Ṣaṣṭhī. Finding the wealthy folk indifferent to her worship goddess Ṣaṣṭhī decided that they must propagate her worship among them.

In Saptagram there was once a king Śatrujit by name. Goddess Ṣaṣṭhī thought to herself that if this king adopted her worship then it must be established among the rich. Thinking thus, she put on the guise of an old Brahmin woman, appeared before the queen, and said to her,

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[1] A. Mazumdar, *Meyeder Vratakathā*, Calcutta, 1344 B.E., p. 39.

[2] For the detailed rites of observance of the worship and also for the legend connected with Janma Ṣaṣṭhī, see P. C. Chakravarti, *Vrata O Ācār*, Śānti, Dacca, 1347 B.E., Pauṣ, pp. 351–353.

[3] Different *Kathās* or legends are told in glorification of this Jungle Ṣaṣṭhī in different parts of Bengal. The legend that has been given above is current in Western Bengal. In Eastern Bengal the story is different. (See P. C. Chakravarti, Śānti, *op. cit.*, Śrāvaṇ, 1347 B.E., pp. 150-51). In Rudrarām Chakravarti's *Ṣaṣṭhī Maṅgal* which is current in Khulna district yet another legend of Ṣaṣṭhī is available (see *infra*).

'I have come here from Burdwan to have a bath in the Ganges. Today is the day of Aranya Ṣaṣṭhī. I shall take you with me and perform the worship of Ṣaṣṭhī.'

'What is the good of worshipping Ṣaṣṭhī?' asked the queen. 'You are a queen,' said goddess Ṣaṣṭhī, 'And you know no sorrow or misery. This is why you know nothing about the glory and greatness of deities. Let me tell you about the glory and greatness of Ṣaṣṭhī. Attend to it.'

There was a merchant Saybene by name. By the grace of Ṣaṣṭhī his wife presented him with seven sons. The wife of the merchant always worshipped Ṣaṣṭhī with her daughters-in-law. One day when arrangements for the worship of the goddess were complete, the mother-in-law left the youngest daughter-in-law in charge of the articles of worship and went out on a piece of business. Now, the youngest daughter-in-law was *enciente*. She could not resist the temptation of eating up the articles of worship. When the mother-in-law came back, she told the lie that a black cat had come along, and eaten them up. Now the black cat is the vehicle of Ṣaṣṭhī. When the black cat heard the explanation of the youngest daughter-in-law she became very angry with her. Thereafter when in due time youngest daughter-in-law gave birth to a male child, the black cat stole it away from the lying-in-rooms. In due course, the lady gave birth to six sons all of whom were stolen away by the black cat. Then the lady conceived again. In due time the lady went into the thick of a forest and gave birth to a son. Taking the new-born babe in her lap she sat all watchful, but in a short while she was locked in the embrace of sleep. In the mean time the black cat fled away with the child. The lady suddenly woke up and saw that the black cat was fleeing away with the baby in her mouth. The lady ran after her, but before she went far, she stumbled, and dropped down.

The black cat on her own part presented herself before goddess Ṣaṣṭhī with the baby in her mouth. The goddess took the black cat severely to task for this cruel treatment meted out by her to the youngest daughter-in-law. Then she went to where the youngest daughter-in-law lay prostrate on the dust-laden ground. The goddess rebuked her gently for her apathy towards her, and for eating up the articles of worship meant for her, but finally she forgave her all her faults and restored her all the seven children she had given birth to. Getting back home with her seven sons, the youngest daughter-in-law performed the worship of Ṣaṣṭhī with great pomp and eclat.

The queen of Śatrujit heard this story of the glory and greatness of goddess Ṣaṣṭhī and she too held the worship of the goddess. It was thus that her worship was introduced into a royal family.

The first poet to write a poem on this theme was Kṛṣṇarām Dās. It is this Kṛṣṇarām who is the poet of *Kālikā Maṅgal* and *Rāy Maṅgal*. Kṛṣṇarām Dās composed his *Ṣaṣṭhī Maṅgal*[1] in 1601 of the Śaka Era or 1679 A.D. As to the date of the composition of his work he says:—

Poet Kṛṣṇarām writes this *Ṣaṣṭhī Maṅgal* in the Śaka Era represented by the (one) earth, the cipher, the (six) seasons and the (one) moon.

In this peom there is a description of Saptagram the memory of whose ancient grandeur and prosperity is not yet wiped out.

No manuscript of Kṛṣṇarām's work has been found in a complete form. Both the manuscripts discovered up-to-date are incomplete. It is the current legend about Ṣaṣṭhī that Kṛṣṇarām has woven into a poem. As a work of art it is almost negligible.

Next must be mentioned the *Ṣaṣṭhī Maṅgal*[2] of Rudrarām Cakravartī. The name of the poet's father was Gaṅgārām. Vidyābhūṣaṇ was the title of Rudrarām. From the account of the origin of the book it can be known that when the poet's daughter was once attacked with a serious illness, goddess Ṣaṣṭhī commanded him in a dream to compose a poem in glorification of her. In deference to that command, the poet composed this poem split up into thirteen *pālās*, in consequence of which his daughter was completely cured. Nothing can be known about Rudrarām's times or the date of the composition of his work. The theme of Rudrarām is not the legend of Araṇya Ṣaṣṭhī narrated before. It is overlaid with various Purāṇic stories. It consists of three episodes: the first one is the Purāṇic anecdote about Kārtikeya, the second one deals with the incident of Kṣetramiśra's obtaining a son through a boon of Ṣaṣṭhī, and the recovery of his kingdom by his help, and the third one describes the popular story of Kalāvatī. None of the stories found in the *Ṣaṣṭhī Maṅgal* and the legends of Ṣaṣṭhī in Bengal are in agreement with the anecdotes described by Rudrarām.

Rudrarām may have flourished in the eighteenth century. His diction is chaste and scholarly, but it is generally lacking in poetry.

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[1] Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, MS. No. 5674.

[2] A modernized and incomplete edition of this work has been published by Asutosh Datta, Calcutta, 1339 B.E.

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Besides *Ṣaṣṭhī Maṅgal*, one by Kavicandra and another by Guṇarāj are said to have been found.[1] But nothing can be known of them.

ASUTOSH BHATTACHARYYA.

A NOTE ON 'MĀGANDIYA'

Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākrit literature supplies us with an invaluable material for reconstructing the history of ancient India and her civilization. But an intensive study will show that there are many words, expressions, or passages which still require careful consideration. This note deals with the Pāli word *Māgandiya* which represents the name of a brahmin who was a resident of the market-town of Kammāsadamma in the Kuru country (Kurusu Kammāsadammanigamavāsī).[2]

Māgandiya is equivalent to Skt. Mākandika = Mākanda +ika, or Mākandī +ka. The change of *k* to *g*, i.e. the softening of an intervocalic surd is a feature of Pāli, which is to be attributed to the influence of dialects like Māgadhī, Śauraseṇī and Apabhraṃśa. Now, Māgandiya (var. Māgandika) = Māgandī +iya or ika. We know that the *Taddhita* suffixes *iya* and *ika* are added to nouns to mean 'one born in, or belonging to, or living in a certain place': e.g., one of, or born in, or living in Sāvatthī or Magadha, is Sāvatthiya and Sāvatthika, or Māgadhiya and Māgadhika respectively. So, Māgandiya or Māgandika will mean 'one born in, living in, or belonging to Māgandī'. The Pāli commentators offer a fanciful derivation of the word Mākandi when they say that Kākandī was so called because it had been the residence of the sage Kākanda, and that the grammarians and versifiers took Kākandī as *Mākandi*: (Sāvatthiyan ti evaṃ nāmake nagare, taṃ kira Savatthassa nāma isino nivāsanaṭṭhānam ahosi, tasmā, yathā Kusambassa nivāso Kosambi Kākandassa *Kākandi*, evam itthiliṅgavasena Sāvatthī ti vuccati.[3] Savatthassa nāma isino nivāsanaṭṭhāne māpitattā Sāvatthī ti vuccati, yathā Kākandi *Mākandī*' ti. Evaṃ tāva akkharacintakā.[4]). From the *Anekārthasaṃgraha* of Hemacandra,[5] the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, the *Medinīkoṣa* and the *Mahābhārata*[6] we learn that *Mākandī* was the name of a place on the Gaṅgā, while in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[1] of Somadevabhaṭṭa Mākandikā (= Mākandī) is described as a city on the Jāhnavī (asti Mākandikā nāma nagarī Jāhnavītaṭe).

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[1] Viśvakoṣa, 18, p. 75.

[2] *Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā*, PTS edn., Vol. II, pp. 542-43.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 300.

[4] *Udāna-aṭṭhakathā*, PTS edn., p. 55.

[5] Böhtlingk and Roth: *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, Vol. V, p. 690.

[6] *Variants*: Mākaṃda, Mākaṃdī, Māsaṃdī, Avaṃtī, Āsandī, Vāsaṃtī, Vāvaṃtī.

From the Drupadaśāsana section of the Ādiparva, *Mahābhārata*, we learn that seeing Drupada, king of Pāñcāla, brought under his control, humiliated and deprived of wealth, Droṇa bestowed upon him, as a token of sympathy and friendship, the entire Pāñcāla territory lying on the southern bank of the Bhāgīrathī, while he himself took the other half of the kingdom which stood on the northern side of that river. 'Thenceforth, Drupada began to reside sorrowfully in (the city of) Kāmpilya (within the province of) *Mākandī* on the banks of the Gaṅgā filled with many towns and cities. And after this defeat of Droṇa, Drupada also ruled the southern Pāñcāla up to the bank of the Carmaṇvatī'[2] (=Chambal):

(Evam uktaḥ sa taṃ Droṇo mokṣayāmāsa Bhārata
satkṛtya cainaṃ prītātmā rājyārdhaṃ pratyapādayat|
Mākandīm atha Gaṅgāyāstīre janapadayutām
so 'dhyāvasad dīnamanāḥ Kāmpilyañca purottamam|
Dakṣiṇāṃ ścāpi Pāñcālān yāvac Carmaṇvatī nadī
Droṇena caivam Drupadaḥ paribhūyātha pālitaḥ|'[3]

From these verses it is evident that in those days, *Mākandī* (which has not yet been identified) formed a part of the Pāñcāla country and that it held an important position in the locality and was quite extensive in area (janapadayutām).

Again, in the Udyogaparva of the *Mahābhārata* we see that Yudhiṣṭhira, wishing for peace amongst the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, sent a private message to Duryodhana through Sañjaya requesting him (Duryodhana) to give them, i.e. the Pāṇḍavas, some share of the kingdom:

'Śāntirevaṃ bhaved rājan! prītiścaiva parasparam
rājyaikadeśamapi naḥ prayaccha śamaṁ icchatām|
Kuśasthalaṃ Vṛkasthalaṃ *Mākandiṃ* Vāraṇāvatam
avasānaṃ bhaved atra kañcid ekañca pañcamam|
Bhrātṛṇāṃ dehi pañcānāṃ pañcagrāmān suyodhana!
śāntir no 'stu mahāprājña! jñātibhiḥ saha Sañjaya! ||'[4]

('Peace then, O king, will be amongst our gladdened selves. We are desirous of peace. Give us even a single province of the empire.

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[1] Ed. by Durgāprasād and Parab, 3rd edn., Lāvāṇakalambakaḥ, Prathamastaraṃga, śl. 30, p. 49.

[2] Roy, P. C.: *The Mahābhārata*, New edn., Vol. I, p. 288.

[3] Siddhāntavāgīśa, H.: *Mahābhāratam*, Ādiparva, pp. 1471-72.

[4] *Ibid.*, Sañjayayāna, Udyogaparva, pp. 228-29.

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Give us even Kuśasthala, Vṛkasthala, *Mākandī*, Vāraṇāvata, and for the fifth any other that thou likest! Even that will end the quarrel! O suyodhana! give unto thy five brothers at least five villages!'[1])

Again, in the Bhagavadyāna section of the Udyogaparva, we see Yudhiṣṭhira relating to Kṛṣṇa how his request for only five villages had been refused by Duryodhana:

> 'Kāśibhiś-Cedi-Pāñcālair-Matsyaiśca Madhusūdana !
> bhavatā caiva nāthena pañca grāmā vṛtā mayā ॥
> Avisthalaṃ Vṛkasthalaṃ *Mākandīṃ* Vāraṇāvatam
> avasānañca Govinda ! kañcid evātra pañcamam ॥
> Pañca nastāta ! dīyantāṃ grāmā vā nagarāṇi vā
> vasema sahitā yeṣu mā ca no Bharata nāśanam ॥'[2]

('Having the Kāśis, the Pāñcālas, the Cedis, the Matsyas, for my allies, and with thee, O slayer of Madhu, for my protector, I prayed for only five villages, viz., Avisthala, Vṛkasthala, *Mākandī*, Vāraṇāvata, with any other, O Govinda, as the fifth! Grant us, we said, five villages or towns, O Sire, where we five may dwell in union (with you, i.e. the Kauravas) for we do not desire the destruction of the Bharatas!')[3]

Again, in the Draupadī-Kṛṣṇa-vākya chapter of the Bhagavadyāna section of the Udyogaparva we hear Draupadī speaking to Kṛṣṇa the words with which Yudhiṣṭhira made the appeal for five villages:

> 'Pañca naṣtāta ! dīyantāṃ grāmā iti mahādyute !
> Avisthalaṃ Vṛkasthalaṃ *Mākandīṃ* Vāraṇāvatam ॥
> Avasānaṃ mahābāho ! kañcid ekañca pañcamam ।'[4]

From the verses quoted above it is evident that Mākandī was one of the five villages which were claimed by Yudhiṣṭhira for the share of the Pāṇḍavas. Thus, at that time, Mākandī formed a part of Duryodhana's territory. Otherwise, why should Yudhiṣṭhira ask for a place which was included within the kingdom of Drupada, his ally? And as we have already seen, Mākandī formed a part of the Pāñcāla country. So there arises some discrepancy. This, of course, can be got over if we hold that either there were more than one Mākandī, or that the boundary line of these two mahājanapadas, viz. Kuru and Pāñcāla, was not of an unalterable nature, so that Mākandī may have sometimes formed a part of the Pañcāla country and sometimes of the Kuru kingdom.

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[1] Roy, P. C.: *The Mahābhārata*, New edn., Vol. III, p. 197.
[2] Siddhāntavāgīśa, H.: *Mahābhāratam*, Bhagavadyāna, Udyogaparva, p. 694.
[3] Roy, P. C.: *The Mahābhārata*, New edn., Vol. III, p. 307.
[4] Siddhāntavāgīśa, H.: *Mahābhāratam*, Bhagavadyāna, Udyogaparva, p. 760.

Now, from the Pāli account we get that Māgandiya was only a resident of the market town of Kammāsadamma in the Kuru country (. . . . . Kurusu Kammāsadammanigamavāsino Māgandiyassa nāma brāhmaṇassa . . .[1]). And our conclusion is that, although our thera was Kammāsadammanivāsī, he was known as *Māgandiya* because he hailed from *Māgandī*, i.e. *Mākandī*. He must have got another name, his personal name or *mūlanāma*, which unfortunately, has not come down to us. It will be interesting to note in this connection that the custom of calling a man after the name of the country to which he belonged was quite common in those days as is evident from the names like, Hatthaka Āḷavaka (Hatthaka of Āḷavī), Citta Makkhikāsaṇḍika (Citta of Makkhikāsaṇḍa), Pokkharasādi Subhagavanika (Pokkharasādi of Subhagavana), etc. Thus, Māgandiya and his family had been named after Māgandī or Mākandī which was their land of birth. Further, that they had other names is evident from the account in the *Divyāvadāna*[2] where the brahmin (there a parivrājaka) is called Mākandika, his wife (whose name is not given in the Pāli account) Sākalī and the daughter (Māgandiyā of Pāli) Anupamā.

DEVAPRASAD GUHA.

BIHAR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA

This inscription was edited by Dr. Fleet (*CII.*, III, 49). It is engraved on a broken red sandstone column and much of it is now illegible. Although from the damaged state of the inscription it is difficult to understand even the purport of the first part, the genealogy contained in the second part is of great interest. It appears, however, on a careful reading of the text, that this part does not belong to the reign of Skandagupta, as has been supposed by Dr. Fleet and others, but to a later reign. Anybody who carefully compares the reading with the facsimile published in Fleet's book would find that while it is reasonable to restore the reading of line 22 as suggested by Fleet on account of the name Dhruvadevī contained in line 21, there is a great deal of doubt about the restoration proposed by Fleet in line 23. The first three letters in this line

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[1] *Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā*, PTS edn., Vol. II, pp. 542-43.

[2] *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil, pp. 515ff.

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have been read by Dr. Fleet as *ndaguptaḥ*, and naturally he has supplied the last missing letter as *Ska*; but the facsimile clearly shows that the first letter cannot be read as *nda*. This will be evident from a comparison with the first letter in line 11 which is undoubtedly *nda* (or *ndra*). The loop of *na* is very clear in this case, but the loop is absent in the first letter in line 23, which reads more like *ru* than anything else. In the previous letter also the *ū*-ending seems to be clear and the most reasonable reading appears to be Pūru.

This conclusion is rendered almost certain by a study of the plate published by Dr. R. L. Mitra along with his reading of the record in *JASB.*, XXXV, Part I, p. 270. For it not only shows that the letter in question was clearly *ru*, but also reproduces the preceding letter which can be easily read as *Pū*. Dr. Mitra read the four letters as *ptarugupta*, but there can be hardly any reasonable doubt that the name was written as *Pūrugupta*. This is very important because hitherto the name of *Pūrugupta* has only been found in royal seals but not in any inscription.

Dr. Fleet's restoration of line 23 is also faulty in another respect. According to the restoration proposed by him there is no mention of the name of the queen-mother as we find in the cases of the previous kings. But it is evident that the name was there. For the number of letters in lines 17 to 22, where we can check them by the conventional genealogical phraseology, were respectively 27, 31, 26, 25, 26, and 33, whereas line 23, as restored by Dr. Fleet, contains only nineteen letters. The line should therefore be restored as follows:—

> [*Mahādevyām=Anantadevyām=utpannaḥ parama-bhāgavato Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-*] *Pūruguptaḥ.*

In line 24 the last seven letters are '*Parama-bhāgavato*'. It is obvious that about 20 to 25 letters are missing at the beginning, and this is just what we should expect if the genealogy were continued. In other words, the missing portion may be restored *somewhat* as follows:—

> *Tasyaputras=tat-pād-ānudhyāto Mahādevyāṁ Chandradevyām-utpannaḥ.*

This contains 21 letters and thus the total number of letters in the line would be 28. Even admitting that the reference might not have been to a son of Pūrugupta, there cannot be any doubt that the genealogy was continued beyond line 23, and that the king whose name is missing in line 25 cannot be the same as that mentioned in line 23.

It is strange that this point has been completely lost sight of by Dr. Fleet and others. Dr. Fleet has restored the name of the missing king in line 25 also as Skandagupta but has not cared to explain why in a conventional genealogy the name should be repeated twice. It might be contended that the genealogy ended with line 23 and Skandagupta was mentioned in line 25 as having issued the command, etc. But, apart from what has been said above, the word *Paramabhāgavata* occurring in this name shows that it was a part of the genealogy, for it would have been extremely unusual if this qualifying epithet were again repeated before the same king mentioned in connection with issuing orders.

It would thus appear that even if we read Skandagupta in line 23 we must hold that the record was issued by another king, presumably his successor. As a matter of fact, however, it would appear from what has been said above that line 23 most probably contained the name of Pūrugupta and that the record was evidently issued by his successor.

Fleet concluded from the mention of the village *Skandaguptabaṭa* in Part I that that also belonged to the time of Skandagupta. But here, too, Fleet's restoration of the village-name is doubtful. As noted above, the first letter that can be definitely read in line 11 seems to be '*ndra*' and not '*nda*', and the name, therefore, may be restored as *Chandraguptabaṭa*, *Indraguptabaṭa*, etc.

The proper assignment of the inscription is of considerable importance because we do not know who was his immediate successor. This vexed question would probably have been definitely solved if we could restore the missing name of the king in line 25.

In this connection I would like to make one suggestion. The presence of the name Bhadrāryā in both the parts of the inscription seems to indicate that they were contemporary records. Now, the first part of the inscription contains the name of Kumāragupta. It is very likely, therefore, that the genealogy in the second part also ended with him. As we know, one king Kumāragupta flourished in G.E. 154 (= 473-4 A.D.). It is also well known now that Budhagupta who reigned in G.E. 157 (= 476-7 A.D.) was a son of Pūrugupta. It is not impossible, therefore, that Kumāragupta of the year 154 might be the son and successor of Pūrugupta and was the author of the Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription. This is, of course, a mere suggestion, as in view of the uncertainty of the chronology of the later Gupta Emperors, no definite opinion can be hazarded on this point.

This, no doubt, goes against the chronological view which was propounded by me[1] (and also independently by Mr. Pannalal[2]) more than a quarter of a century ago, and is now generally accepted.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, pp. 161–7.

[2] *Hindusthan Review*, January, 1918.

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But the royal seals discovered at Nālandā seem to have considerably weakened the foundations on which this chronological view rests. These seals prove that Budhagupta was a son of Pūrugupta and that Kumāragupta II had a son named Viṣṇugupta. Therefore, in the first place, it would now be more reasonable to place Budhagupta before his nephew Kumāragupta II, rather than after him. Even if we hold that Budhagupta ruled later, it would be necessary, according to the present chronological view, to put not only the reigns of Pūrugupta, Narasiṁhagupta and Kumāragupta II, but also that of Viṣṇugupta, during the ten years between 467 and 477 A.D. Even if we assume that Budhagupta succeeded Kumāragupta II, and that Viṣṇugupta later succeeded his grand-uncle, there still remains one strong objection to the above chronology. For according to it Viṣṇugupta must have been born before 477 A.D., the latest possible date of his father's death. In other words, we have to assume that the great-great-grandson of Kumāragupta I was born within less than twenty-two years of his death. This is, of course, possible if we assume that Kumāragupta I died at the advanced age of seventy or later, and that his descendants had all a son at the age of twenty-three or earlier. But in dealing with unknown periods of history we should be guided by probabilities rather than remote possibilities. This is the reason why one may be justified in believing that Kumāragupta of G.E. 154 was a different person from the son of Narasiṁhagupta. The interpretation of the Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription, proposed above, cannot, therefore, be lightly dismissed simply because it does not fit in with the chronological scheme generally accepted at present. On the other hand, it makes it very likely that Pūrugupta was followed on the throne by his three sons, Kumāragupta II, Budhagupta, and Narasiṁhagupta, and the last-named one was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta III and the latter by his son Viṣṇugupta. This scheme, though not free from difficulties, appears to be a reasonable one, and I propose to discuss the whole question in a separate paper.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

REVIEWS

A HISTORY OF GINGEE AND ITS RULERS, by Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachariar, with a Foreword by Dr. Sir C. R. Reddi. Annamalai University Historical Series No. 2 (1943).

Among the neglected chapters of South Indian history are those on the Nayak rulers of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee. These have had a glorious rule and they played a worthy part in the history of South India. Though the history of the Nayaks of Madura was worked out twenty years before, the history of other Nayaks has been coming out recently, thanks to the Annamalai University and its distinguished Professor of History. In the volume under review Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachariar gives us not only an account of the Nayaks of Gingee but also a complete history of Gingee from its very origin down to its occupation by the British. It is a good connected account of Gingee so far published, covering ten chapters of 533 pages. It may be mentioned in passing that the French version of the professor's account of Gingee was published in 1940.

In the first chapter we have a description of Gingee fort and its origin. Three hills, Rajagiri, Krishnagiri and Chandrayan-drug, in the form of a triangle, well fortified and connected with one another by a stone rampart sixty feet in thickness, constitute Gingee fortifications. There is a temple dedicated to Kamalakanni Amman perhaps identical with Senjiamman and it is probable that the place took its name after the goddess Senji. The early history of Gingee is, like that of several places, enshrouded in mystery. The painstaking researches of the learned author have led to fruitful result. From an account of *Karnataka Rajakkal Savistara Charitam* written by one Narayanan and found among the famous Mackenzie manuscripts, Professor Srinivasachariar has been able to furnish a connected account of the early history. A number of petty dynasties seems to have ruled from this place. One such was a dynasty of Kons who were by caste shepherds. The activities of Ananda Kon are given in some detail, and these rulers were evidently responsible for the first fortifications. A plausible theory may be that these Kons belonged to the great Yadava community who are said to have spread to South India after the demise of Krishna.

This dynasty was superseded by one Kobilingan who belonged to the community of the Kurumbas, a prehistoric tribe of South India whose descendants are still found in some parts of Coorg, Mysore and Nilgiris. He seems to have been a powerful chieftain. He is credited with the building of a brick fort at Sendamangalam in Tirukoilur taluk. This was the place which became the headquarters of a powerful Chola feudatory by name Kopperunjinga. How long Gingee was under the possession of the Kurumbar, it is not easy to say. But it was a part of the Chola kingdom in the medieval period. We have the testimony of epigraphs in its neighbourhood to point out that it continued to be a part of the Cholas of the Vijayala dynasty. With the disruption of the Chola empire in the thirteenth century and the consequent increasing turbulence it is believed that Gingee might have been strengthened in its fortifications.

If we believe in the veracity of the chronicle, after Fasli 800, Narasinga Udayar became the Viceroy of Gingee. It was acquired by conquest. Narasinga Udayar held it as a fief paying tribute to the headquarters. This is the beginning of the Nayak rule at Gingee. And this is the subject-matter of Chapter III in the book. A regular Viceroyalty was perhaps established only from 1464 A.D. when Venkatapati Nayak became the ruler of Gingee. The most distinguished of this line of rulers was Tubaki Krishnappa who became the Nayak of Gingee some time after 1520-21. The big granaries in the Gingee fort, the Kalyana Mahal and the thick walls enclosing the three hills of Gingee are credited to this king. He was succeeded by other Nayaks like Achyuta Ramachandra and Venkatappa Nayaka. It may be said without any fear of contradiction that the Nayaks continued to strengthen the fortifications and were responsible for the growth of the town as an important centre of activity. Among other sources for this period, the records of Father Pimenta are fairly reliable. We have again records which give a description of the relations of the Nayaks with the Portuguese and the Dutch. We have more details about Krishnappa Nayaka who was a Vaishnava by religious persuasion. It was he who played an unfortunate part in the civil war of Vijayanagar (1614–17), dealt in Chapter IV of the book.

His successors were weak and insignificant. Advantage was taken of by the Muhammadan powers of Golconda and Bijapur who occupied Gingee about 1660 A.D. Added to this was the short-sighted policy pursued by Tirumala Nayak of Madura. The Bijapuri authorities renamed Gingee as Badshabad and appointed a number of fief-holders in the neighbourhood on a military tenure. But Gingee fell in the hands of the famous Maratha leader Sivaji in 1677 in the course of his Carnatic expedition. The Marathas continued to strengthen its fortifications. But before he could consolidate the newly acquired territories, Sivaji died and his successor Sambaji mismanaged the whole thing. This precipitated a conflict with the Mughals, who captured it finally in 1698. From 1700 to 1714 Sarup Singh and the reputed Raja Desing were in charge as the representatives of the Mughal Government. While the English records speak of Sarup Singh as a potent prince, the ten months of rule by Raja Desing have won for him undying name in the Tamil country. Even today the name of Raja Desing is cherished in the Tamil land. With the removal of the headquarters of the Mughal subah to Arcot the political importance of Gingee was thrown to the shade. It became again the centre of military operations in the epoch of the Carnatic wars; and furnished an advantage to its possessors on the seesaw of changing power. It was near the scene of Nasir Jang's assassination and the neighbourhood of the point of climax of Dupleix's luck. The various problems connected with these are discussed exhaustively by the author. It was under French occupation from 1760 to 1761 and then it passed on to the hands of the English. All these are dealt with in the last chapter of the book.

By this publication, the Rao Bahadur has certainly placed the historians of India and particularly the historians of South India under a deep debt of gratitude. He has covered a vast period of untrodden field with conspicuous success.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

UJJAYINĪ IN ANCIENT INDIA by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.R.A.S.B. Published by the Archæological Department, Gwalior Govt., 1944, pp. 1–36 with 8 plates and an Index.

This treatise has been very appropriately published by the Archæological Department of the Gwalior Government, one of whose chief cities is still Ujjain. The monograph is a valuable addition to the numerous works with which Dr. Law has already enriched to such a large extent Indian historical literature. It bears all the marks of painstaking research, based on all available original sources, associated with Dr. Law's writings. The present work naturally draws mainly upon literary sources embedded in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit texts, supplemented by the evidence

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of coins and inscriptions and the information supplied by the Chinese travellers. The work is divided into six sections, viz. (1) Name and Location; (2) Evidence of Yuan Chwang and the *Periplus*; (3) Political History; (4) Ujjayinī on Ancient Coins; (5) As centre of Learning, and (6) Religious History. These thus exhaust the entire history of this ancient place and deal with all its aspects. The first section is an important contribution to the geography of ancient India which already owes so much to Dr. Law's researches. The second section is interesting for the light it throws upon the reign of the important king Pradyota associated with the Vatsa king Udayana. It also gives many interesting details regarding Ujjayinī under Aśoka and also under the Śātakarṇi kings, and Rudradāman I. It also throws valuable light on the vexed problem of the traditional Vikrama Era and king Vikramāditya. Lastly, this section deals appropriately with the history of the important tribe of the Mālavas. Sections 5 and 6 elicit valuable information regarding the general culture-history of India. On the whole, the present monograph shows what an important place an intensive study of local history and specialized work in a limited field can take in building up the general history of India in all its aspects, political, economic or cultural.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE.

THE NAYAKS OF TANJORE by V. Vriddhagirisan, M.A., M.Litt., L.T., edited with Introduction and Notes by Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari. Published by the Annamalai University.

One of the most fascinating periods in the history of South India is covered by the rule of the Nayaks of Tanjore and comprises roughly about one hundred and fifty years from the second quarter of the sixteenth century to the third quarter of the seventeenth century, when the Tamil country was ruled by Telugu rulers who represented the imperial house of Vijayanagar. The Nayak rule at Tanjore passed through the vicissitudes of fortune through which Vijayanagar herself passed. A critical study of this rule has not so far received sufficient attention at the hands of scholars. The work under review fills a long standing gap in the historical dynasties of the Tamil country.

Mr. Vriddhagirisan first discusses the circumstances and date of the foundation of the Nayakship of Tanjore. In the next two chapters he deals with the reign of Sevappa Nāyaka (1532–1580) and describes in detail the wide tolerance and extensive patronage of all religions under this chief. The fourth chapter is devoted to giving an account of the reign of Acyutappa Nayaka, who was loyal to the imperial house of Vijayanagar. The most illustrious ruler of the dynasty was Raghunatha Nayaka who made Tanjore a great centre of radiating culture. He was a great soldier and a distinguished statesman. His reign saw the advent of the Danes, Dutch and the English into the Tanjore region. He encouraged arts and letters himself being a good scholar and an authority on Carnatic music. Literary men of eminence adorned his court. Among them were the celebrated Govinda Dikshitar, the scholar-statesman, Venkatamakhi and Ramabhadrambā.

The author proceeds to give an account of Vijayaraghava Nayaka, the son and successor of Raghunatha. He had a religious bent of mind and was of pious disposition. But he was a weak and vascillating ruler and consequently his kingdom suffered. His relations with the Nayak of Madura cost his life. Venkaji, the half-brother of Sivaji gradually got possession of the Tanjore territory. These and other accounts are well portrayed by the young author in an interesting and attractive manner. In conclusion there is a general account of some features of the Nayak rule, political, economic and social. Unlike under the Nayaks of Madura, the Pāḷayam system was absent in Tanjore. In the absence of feudal levies, the Tanjore Nayaks were obliged to maintain a large standing army. They paid particular attention to tanks and other irrigation works. Fine arts received a considerable encouragement at their hands. Thus 'the rule of a Telugu dynasty over a Tamil kingdom with such cultural and other benefits to the land is indeed a most striking and creditable feature in the history of South India and forms a most pleasing epoch of vigorous and continuous cultural growth'.

We welcome this informative publication.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

OBITUARY

SIR D. B. JAYATILAKA

It is most regrettable that we have to record the death-news of Sir D. B. Jayatilaka. He was a great man, a great scholar, a great administrator, and a great patriot. He was well versed in Pali and Sinhalese literature. Those who came in contact with him knew him to be a sincere worker and a thoroughly honest and God-fearing man. Simplicity and sincerity were the two main traits of his character which made him so great. It goes without saying that India and Ceylon have lost in him a true friend possessed of extraordinary qualities. It will be difficult to fill up the void created by his death. Let us pray for the peace of the departed soul.

B. C. LAW.

EDITORS' NOTES

The Tourist Traffic in connection with Post-war Reconstruction in India

In connection with the many problems which arise with reference to post-war reconstruction, some serious thought may well be given to the important question of providing increased facilities for tourists in India. The tourist traffic is a potential source of great profit to the country. Before the war a considerable proportion of the national income was derived from tourist traffic in such countries as France, Switzerland, Italy and even Germany. In India, on the other hand, very little has been done to provide reasonable facilities to persons, either residents in this country or who are visitors from elsewhere, who desire to see its ancient cities or to study its artistic and architectural treasures.

Many of the most interesting places in India are almost inaccessible to the ordinary visitor unless he has the good fortune to obtain introductions to influential Government officials or to highly placed authorities in the Indian States. There are few hotels except in the big cities; dak-bungalows are usually dirty; and at many places of great interest, even if the visitor is able to find a rest-house with some vacant accommodation, he will be in a position of considerable difficulty unless he has taken with him his own provisions and camp equipment. The ordinary traveller can hardly expect to be able to visit most of the famous cave temples of Western India, the interesting group of ancient Hindu buildings at Aihole, Badami and Pattadakal, the beautiful old cities of the Deccan, such as Gulbarga, Bidar and Bijapur, the ruins at Vijayanagar, Gaur and Pandua (the ancient capitals of Bengal), the temples at Khajuraho, most of the historic Buddhistic sites in Bihar, Nepal and North-west India and few indeed of the romantic cities of Rajputana. Hundreds of the most fascinating places in India are completely inaccessible to the intellectual tourist.

A possible solution of this important problem would be the creation of a special Travellers' Department by the Government of India with Bureaux in such places as Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Lahore.

The main functions of the Travellers' Department would be:—

(1) The development of the tourist traffic in India as a national asset. For this purpose close co-operation would be necessary with

the Indian States, and with the Railway, Education and Archaeological Departments of the Government of India.

(2) Suitable propaganda both in India and in foreign countries.

(3) The provision of adequate facilities for travellers who desire to visit the architectural, artistic and cultural monuments of India. This would include:—

- (i) The construction of roads when they are required for the purpose of making such monuments accessible.
- (ii) The establishment of hotels and adequately equipped travellers' bungalows whenever they may be required.
- (iii) The appointment of a staff of curators and lecturer-guides at suitable places.
- (iv) The provision of adequate rail, river and road transport for tourists especially during the cold weather months.

(4) The provision of good literature for the intellectual tourist. So far, in spite of India's great wealth in archaeological remains and historic monuments very little has been done in this respect. The Archaeological Department has published a few guide books; there is some handy travellers' literature available for places like Delhi and Agra and some of the Railways have brought out some pamphlets. Usually, however, the ordinary traveller in India, who desires information about the places which he intends to visit, has to consult standard historical works, gazetteers, learned publications relating to special subjects or such documents as Reports or Memoirs of the Archaeological Department, which are not easily available. India has yet to produce good literature for the intellectual tourist on the lines of the admirable 'Highways and Byeways' series for the English countries or H. V. Morton's 'In Search of England' or 'In Search of Scotland'. If the Travellers' Department could arrange for the publication of a series of good books of this nature it would render a great service to world culture.

The functions of the Bureaux would be:—

1. To give travellers all possible assistance and advice with regard to tours in India.
2. To provide them, if required, with camp equipment and with properly qualified guides and servants.
3. In suitable cases to provide them with letters of introduction to officials, universities, and learned societies.
4. To arrange for their transport and accommodation, especially in connection with tours to places which are 'off the beaten track'.
5. To provide them with such literature as may be available with regard to the places they propose to visit.

So far, I have dealt with this matter mainly from the point of view of the ordinary educated tourist who wishes to travel in India for the purpose of improving his general culture or merely for a holiday. It would, however, also be for the Travellers' Department to assist those who come to India for business or in the interest of learning and science. This would involve the department in many delicate contacts which I do not propose to discuss and I will only deal very briefly with one aspect of the problem.

Many learned people visit this country, who are deeply interested in India's history and archaeology. In the case of such persons it should be possible for the Travellers' Department to facilitate their researches in connection with examination of historical records in the custody of Government or learned societies or by putting them in touch with leading Indian scholars or with the representatives of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India.

As regards the Archaeological Department, I think that it is not sufficiently realized that the reputation of India in the world of learning depends in no small degree on the standard of its archaeological publications and on the efficiency with which the Archaeological Department is administered. I may be wrong, but the impression which I have received after many visits to ancient sites all over India is that the Archaeological Department is being financially starved and is functioning under very great difficulties. Insufficient funds seem to be provided for exploration and excavation, and even for the maintenance of the great national monuments. Great publications such as those of Sir John Marshall and Sir Aurel Stein seem to be things of the past. There can, however, be no doubt that, as the custodian of a very important portion of the great national heritage, the Archaeological Department should not be regarded as a sort of step-daughter but it should be recognized as a very vital part of the great machine on which the prestige of India depends in the eyes of the world. If a Travellers' Department is to be established it would have to rely in no small measure upon the advice and assistance of the Archaeological Department which, under existing conditions, seems to be inadequately staffed and financially handicapped.

Some of the Indian States have their own Archaeological Departments, e.g. Hyderabad, Mysore, Gwalior, Jodhpur, Baroda, Kashmir and Bhopal. It seems to me that those States in which such departments have not been established should be persuaded to combine for this purpose in order to ensure the scientific preservation of their ancient buildings and scholarly research in connection with their past history.

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Possibly some of the States might wish to maintain their own Travellers' Departments. I believe such a department has been established in Kashmir. But the balance of advantage would appear to be in favour of constituting this department on an all-India basis with the greatest possible measure of co-operation from the States.

N. G. A. EDGLEY.

No. 1216-TT.

Dated, New Delhi, the $\frac{17th}{18th}$ *Nov.*, 1943.

MY DEAR EDGLEY,

Many thanks for your letter of the 11th, which you wrote after a discussion with Sir Jogendra Singh, and for the very interesting note you enclosed with your letter.

2. Prior to the war, individual railways were endeavouring to engender a desire to see India in the people of India who could afford to travel. Many excursion specials were run and, on some railways, student specials were organized by railways with the assistance of professors of colleges who lectured to the students on the places of archaeological interest visited.

3. Tourist traffic to India from other countries also was encouraged and Indian Railways had Travel Bureaux in England and America.

4. You will appreciate from the above very brief comment, that railways, so far as they were in a position to do so, were paying attention both to external and internal tourist travel. The note which you have sent me will, I feel sure, enable Railway Publicity Officers to approach the development of tourist traffic from a new and valuable angle. The experience they already have had in developing tourist traffic, added to the ideas which your note encourages, will enable us to get the tourist traffic machinery moving once again and, possibly, with greater effect, as soon as peace conditions permit.

5. The experience of railways in the past has been that many places of interest have had to be omitted from the itineraries owing to lack of accommodation in the vicinity. Considerable capital expenditure would be necessary to provide suitable accommodation and until it is provided, development of tourist traffic in India is likely to be handicapped. There is moreover the matter of communication from railhead to outlying points of interest such as Khajuraho, which

will require attention, and several Departments of Government are concerned in the problem as a whole.

6. I shall be glad if possible to discuss the matter further with you when the opportunity offers during a future visit to Calcutta, and will try to have the matter thoroughly examined by one of the post-war reconstruction committees.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) E. C. BENTHALL.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. A. Edgley,
Judge, High Court, Calcutta.

27th November, 1943.

DEAR SIR EDWARD,

Many thanks for your letter of the 18th November on the subject of the development of the tourist traffic. I am so glad that you are interested in the matter and I feel sure that, if the question can be thoroughly examined by one of the post-war reconstruction Committees, it should be possible to have a programme ready to put into operation as soon as peace conditions are restored. As you say, considerable capital expenditure would be necessary to provide suitable accommodation but, as an interim measure after the war, I think a good deal might be done by providing cold weather camps at suitable places, which might be linked up with the railhead by properly organized motor services. Some years ago I believe they had an arrangement of this sort for State Guests at Khajuraho. After the war many tents would be available for use at such camps and I suppose it might also be possible to convert a number of military lorries for use as passenger vehicles.

I think you would find that the States would be only too glad to co-operate. I discussed this matter recently with H.H. the Maharaja of Chhatarpur with reference to Khajuraho and both he and his Dewan seemed to be most anxious to encourage tourist traffic in the State. Similar views are also held by Sir Mirza Ismail, who hopes in course of time to establish one of the best hotels in India at Jaipur.

The most important part of the 'capital' for a Travellers' Department is already in existence in the form of historic monuments and interesting and beautiful places. What is now required is a scheme on an all-India basis for making these places accessible. The ultimate ideal would be to have some good hotels at a number of carefully selected places where visitors might be expected at all

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seasons of the year, and to link these centres with outlying places of interest, where rest-houses or camps might be run for the convenience of visitors, say from October to the end of March.

I realize, of course, that the Railways had made a move in the right direction before the war and I hear that the student specials in particular were becoming very popular. It will, however, be difficult to get the thing going properly unless all the Central and Provincial Departments concerned and the States work together.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) N. G. A. EDGLEY.

The Hon'ble Sir Edward Benthall, Kt.,
Member of Council,
In charge of Communications and Railways,
New Delhi.

We agree with the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Edgley that something should be done after the war to provide reasonable facilities to tourists who are interested in the ancient heritage of India. India is full of many beautiful temples, caves, lakes, mountains, rivers, ancient buildings and historic sites which attract hundreds and thousands of visitors from all parts of the globe. The Government of India ought to open a Travellers' Department with branches in many important cities of India. It is the duty of the Archæological Department of the Government of India and the Archæological Departments maintained by the Indian States to help the visitors in every possible way with clever guides, useful guide-books and accommodations. In short, they ought to help the travellers with all possible assistance and advice regarding their tours in India. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Edgley is right in pointing out that a series of good guide-books giving all the important details of the historical places of interest in India should be published by the Travellers' Department. The Memoirs of the Archæological Department seem to be very learned and therefore some popular guide-books to guide the travellers in their tours should be published. Further, the railway authorities ought to arrange for convenient trains so that the travellers do not feel any difficulty in visiting places of historical importance. In our opinion, the tourist traffic ought to engage the attention of the authorities concerned as soon as the war is over.

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